

CHINESE AMERICAN AND JEWISH CHRISTIANS: TOWARD
A MULTI-RACIAL RELIGIOUS EDUCATION THEORY
AND A NEW TESTAMENT CURRICULUM

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In Partial Fulfillment
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Doctor of Philosophy

by
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Abstract

Chinese American and Jewish Christians: Towards A Multi-Racial Theory of Religious Education and a New Testament Curriculum

by

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Multicultural religious education theory has neglected the fundamental reality of race in American society. The socio-historical dimensions of Euro-American racism must be emphasized because it contributes to the victimization of all people of color. While race had been a much debated topic, a survey of all the issues of Religious Education reveals a pattern of inconsistency in its articles about racial-ethnic minority groups.

The history of early Chinese immigrants in San Francisco between 1850 and 1910 is illustrative of the deprivation of their basic human rights simply because of race. Yet the Chinese who converted to Christianity faced antagonism within their own community. This additional layer of discrimination resulted in Chinese American Christians becoming a religious minority within their own racial group. They were also victims of Christian racism in encountering prejudice from the white church. From their social experience of becoming a double minority, the themes of marginality, identity, and community can be identified.

These themes are analogous to early Jewish Christians living in Antioch, Rome, and Asia Minor, major centers of

the Jewish diaspora during the New Testament period. While not facing racial discrimination as the Chinese, the socio-religious discrimination of Jews in the Greco-Roman world was compounded by their conversion to Christianity. They also became a religious minority within their own ethnic group. As Gentiles dominated the early church, Jewish Christians were challenged over their adherence to the Mosaic law and circumcision. Some opposed the Apostle Paul because he threatened their Jewish heritage. This resulted in a Jewish Christianity being later viewed as a heresy by the church fathers.

Thus a comparison between the socio-religious experience of Jewish Christians and Chinese Protestants is possible since both groups were confronted with the issues of marginality, identity, and community. These themes are developed into an eight session multicultural New Testament curriculum. This dissertation contributes to religious education theory by its emphasis upon race. It also demonstrates the multicultural dimensions of the New Testament through the perspective of Jewish Christians living in the diaspora. While focusing on Chinese American Christians, the themes of marginality, identity, and community in the New Testament can be useful towards helping transform the racial consciousness of other racial-ethnic minority Christians.

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Dedication

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INTRODUCTION

American society has become increasingly multicultural, resulting in a more ethnically diverse church. Yet race has been neglected in religious education theory. This is demonstrated by the racist views of Horace Bushnell and the absence of race in the theories of contemporary religious educators. A survey of all the issues of Religious Education reveals a pattern of inconsistency in its articles about racial-ethnic minority groups. This neglect of race implicitly assumes that the audience is limited to Euro-Americans.

This lack of racial awareness has conditioned Euro-American interpretation of the Bible, conditioned by its underlying values and presuppositions. Because of this Eurocentric focus, identifying multicultural dynamics within the biblical text has not been emphasized. Because the ancient Near East and the Greco-Roman context of the Bible was populated with many different kinds of people, these multicultural dynamics must condition our biblical hermeneutics. The educational task is to develop this multicultural hermeneutic into a church curriculum so that the biblical text could speak anew to our diverse society, especially to people of color.

This dissertation develops a multi-racial theory of religious education. It puts this theory into practice by developing a multicultural New Testament curriculum.

Analogies are constructed between Jewish Christians who lived in Antioch, Rome, and Asia Minor with early Chinese American Christians who lived in San Francisco between 1850 and 1910. From these analogies, emerge the themes of marginality, identity, and community which are pivotal for both diaspora communities. A critical reflection on these themes can engage learners by bringing together the racial oppression of early Chinese Americans with the ethnic tension that faced diaspora Jews. Becoming Christian added another layer of discrimination to each group because they became a religious minority within their own community, thus they were double minorities.

Chapter 1 develops a multi-racial theory of religious education by examining the socio-historical dimensions of race. Instead of "multicultural," the term "multi-racial" is chosen because of the pivotal importance of race. From the beginning, race in the history of the United States has been a decisive factor.

To understand the origins of racial stratification, the roots of American racism is examined. This includes the beginnings of African slavery in Virginia, the Christian rationale for slavery, and the unsuccessful attempt of the Puritans to enslave Native Americans in Massachusetts. During the colonial period, images and stereotypes toward Native Americans and African Americans were developed which provided a racial trajectory for stereotypes which were

transferred to Chinese, and to later Asian immigrants.

The institutionalization of racism created barriers in preventing people of color from having equal opportunities with Euro-Americans. In American immigration history, the 1790 Naturalization Law limited citizenship to white immigrants and was not repealed until the 1952 McCurran-Walter Act. Court decisions defined who was white, such as the 1922 Ozawa case that ruled that the petitioner was qualified for citizenship except that he was not Caucasian.

Sociologists such as Robert Park provided a theoretical framework for assimilation. However, he mistakenly equated race with ethnicity in his famous race relation cycle: contact, competition, accommodation, and assimilation. While European ethnic groups can assimilate, non-whites encounter structural barriers which prevent them from having equal opportunities.

Through the political and ideological process of racial formation, the definition of "white" and "nonwhite" was arbitrarily decided by the courts and immigration laws. Thus race is a socio-historical construction as racial formation and identity continues to be contested within American society. Categories of race are formed, reformed, or destroyed through social, economic or political factors.

Chapter 2 is on the theory and practice of race in religious education. Even the editorials of the Harvard Review between 1985 and 1988 acknowledge the reluctance to

discuss race and racism in the wider context of academia.

Horace Bushnell, "the father of religious education" believed that the Christian faith of Anglo-Saxons leads to superior inbred qualities. This results in their triumph over weaker races like blacks and Indians. In contrast, denominational Sunday school teacher magazines between 1933 and 1941 clearly taught that racism is incompatible with Christianity. Yet despite this teaching, tacit racism can be detected in these magazines.

Major figures in modern religious education include Thomas Groome, John Westerhoff, C. Ellis Nelson, Donald Miller, and Mary Boys. Yet in their theories, race is either omitted or briefly mentioned as an illustration.

What most addressed race is Ethnicity in the Education of the Church, edited by Charles Foster. Yet even here, institutionalized racism was directly addressed and it was not in this consultation's agenda for the future of religious education.

Chapter 3 is a survey of Religious Education from 1906 to 1994. Its articles reveal the inconsistent treatment of people of color. There were eight issues devoted to racial issues; the first one, in February 1931, was a breakthrough issue. At this early date, it was truly multicultural issue, featuring ten articles on five different racial-ethnic minority groups. To understand the significance of this 1931 issue, the next article on Chinese Americans

appeared in 1989, 58 years later!

In this chapter, the articles in Religious Education are grouped in five chronological periods:

- (1) Black or White? 1909-1931.
- (2) The Breakthrough Issue: February 1931.
- (3) Integration through Friendships: 1931-1960.
- (4) Civil Rights Era: 1963-1978.
- (5) From Civil Rights to Multiculturalism: 1979-1994.

This survey reveals that half of the articles in Religious Education deal with African Americans (especially during the civil rights movement). In these articles, there was a clear stand against segregation, yet personal friendships were the prevailing answer to black-white problems. Only a few articles discussed institutional racism. By comparison, other minority groups received little attention.

Chapter 4 deals with early Chinese immigrants and the reasons why they emigrated. Internal causes such as famine and civil war and external causes such as the discovery of gold in California pushed and pulled the Cantonese to America, which they called the "Mountain of Gold."

When the Chinese arrived, they brought with them familiar social organizations: family associations, district associations, and secret societies. Despite their external conflict with each other, these associations formed the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, better known as

the Chinese Six Companies. Together, these associations helped meet the social needs of the Chinese in their new country. It is within the context of these Chinese community organizations that the Chinese missions and churches in San Francisco can be understood.

Yet even before the Chinese set foot in California, negative portrayals of the Chinese by traders, missionaries, diplomats, and the mass media influenced public opinion against them. They were viewed as pagans, coolies, backward, filthy, inferior, depraved, guilty of infanticide and opium smoking, and carriers of exotic diseases. Thus Chinese immigrants were treated with suspicion and contempt from the beginning.

San Francisco was the main port of entry and exit for the Chinese and its Chinatown became the oldest and most important Chinese community in America. While the Chinese never exceeded 4.4 percent of the total immigration population between 1871-1880, they dwindled to 1.2 percent between 1881-1890, and down to a tiny 0.4 percent between 1891-1900.¹

Yet at one point, the Chinese represented almost half of San Francisco's labor force in its key industries. Despite belonging to the working-class, they were forced out of San Francisco's industries by the emerging labor movement

¹ See Mary Roberts Coolidge, Chinese Immigration (New York: Holt, 1909, 504.

that defined itself, not by class, but by race. Anti-Chinese sentiment helped solidify the white labor movement in California.

The Chinese were forced into the laundry business which was not considered threatening to white workers. Yet even here, they were victimized by discriminatory state laws, such as taxes, aimed specifically against them. However, the Chinese challenged these laws in court which resulted in that most of these laws were declared unconstitutional by the federal courts. The courts were the only American institution that protected the Chinese against the worst of these state discriminatory laws.

The Chinese became a political issue in California when politicians learned that to gain the labor vote, they needed to have an anti-Chinese position. A third party, the Workingmen's Party, was a major political force in the 1870s and its famous motto was "The Chinese must go." With this success, both Democratic and Republican parties put anti-Chinese positions in their national platforms and so Chinese immigration became a national political issue. This culminated in Congress passing the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act which was extended by the Geary Act in 1892. Thus Chinese immigration in significant numbers effectively ended until the 1965 Immigration Law. The Chinese were the only group to be named who were specifically banned from immigrating to the United States.

The story of the Chinese in America mirrored the experience of other non-white immigrants because they were victimized by racial discrimination. As the first Asian immigrants, the Chinese encountered prejudice, economic deprivations, political and legal disenfranchisement, violence, and segregation that later Asian immigrant groups would face.

The second half of Chapter 4 discusses the Chinese church in San Francisco. The denominations that had the largest Chinese mission work had their headquarters in San Francisco: Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, and Presbyterians.

Chinese converts were few because of persecution by whites, Christian clergy, and their own countrymen. Some churches refused to grant membership to Chinese Christians. Because of local anti-Chinese feelings, denominational mission agencies had to be directly involved in Chinese mission work. Street preaching to the Chinese by white missionaries were often disrupted. The convert faced the potential loss of his family and friends because it was perceived that Christians forsake Confucius and their ancestors. Thus Chinese Christians became a religious minority among their own people.

Yet Chinese Christians formed a unique organization, the Youxue Zhengdaohui which eventually was established in each denomination (the Presbyterian Zhengdaohui was the

largest). Its purpose was "to exhort each other to do good, learn the doctrine of Jesus Christ's Gospel, love one another, and help each other to avoid temptation."² They conducted their own worship services and Bible studies. Converts were screened and instructed for baptism and they joined their Zhengdaohui before joining the church. The Zhengdaohui also played an important social role since converts faced the loss of their non-Christian friends. It also assisted in funeral arrangements and issued the necessary exit permits for those members returning to China.

Despite the efforts by Protestant missionaries, it has been estimated that the number of Chinese Christians were about "6,500 (between 1850 and 1910, approximately 326,000 Chinese immigrated to the United States)."³ Thus only a tiny percentage (2 percent) of the Chinese were converted, such as in China. Although the Chinese church was not a major institution in Chinatown during this time, American missionaries established a small Protestant presence that would continue to grow in the twentieth century.

Chapter 5 deals with Jewish Christians and how they became a minority within Judaism and within the mainstream church. While there was diversity in both Judaism and

² Ira M. Condit, The Chinaman as We See Him and Fifty Years Work for Him (Chicago: Fleming Revell, 1900), 120.

³ Wesley Woo, "Chinese Protestants in the San Francisco Bay Area," in Entry Denied: Exclusion and the Chinese Community in America, 1882-1943, ed. Sucheng Chan (Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press, 1991), 217.

Christianity, these two religious groups came into significant conflict, especially after 70 C.E. They became estranged from both an emerging rabbinic Judaism and by a Christianity rapidly becoming Gentile in composition. In the midst of this tension, issues of marginality, identity, and community became pivotal issues for Jews and Jewish Christians.

Antioch, Rome, and Asia Minor were major centers of early Christianity and diaspora Judaism. Because the central symbols of Jewish identity were questioned (Torah, food laws, circumcision, the Sabbath), the boundary markers of Jewish ethnicity were threatened. With the success of Pauline Christianity, Gentiles did not have to accept Jewish practices and they soon became the majority in the mainstream church in Rome, Antioch, Asia Minor.

Although Christianity originated as a Jewish Messianic sect, it became a suspect movement between the two Jewish revolts of 66-70 C.E. and 132-135 C.E. by Gentile Christians and the emerging rabbinic movement. By the end of the third century, Jewish Christians were not only a double minority, but were viewed as a heretical sect by the church fathers.

In Chapter 6, a multicultural New Testament curriculum is constructed. From the many analogies between Jewish and Chinese immigrants, eight study sessions are developed. For each session, a historical outline is provided along with several discussion questions.

Both groups were involved in a worldwide diaspora because of social discontent in their homeland and economic opportunities in other countries. As immigrants, both groups became minorities and struggled to maintain their ethnic and communal identity in a hostile environment that marginalized them.

When Jews and Chinese became Christian, they became a double minority as their new religion set them apart from their ethnic group. This caused intra-group conflict resulting in persecution, alienation, and ostracism. As a minority within a minority, both Christian groups were viewed with suspicion from their own people in addition to the hostility of a wider society.

A comparison between Jewish Christians and Chinese American Christians can be problematic. The most obvious difference is the qualitatively different kind of discrimination that each group encountered for each had different identity markers. It was the socio-religious practices of the ancient Jews that set them apart in the Greco-Roman world, i.e. circumcision, Sabbath observance, festivals, diet, and their monotheistic beliefs. The Chinese were also distinguished by their customs and behavior, but what marked them apart from the general population was their facial features. Unlike European immigrants, the Chinese could not assimilate and were viewed as foreigners because they were not "white." These

differences are important; while one can change religions, it is impossible to change one's physical features.

Jews, on the other hand, could assimilate if they did not observe their distinct religious customs. If they lapsed into paganism, they would be indistinguishable from Greco-Romans. With the exception of circumcision, no unique physical features of Jews are described by Roman writers. There was no color hierarchy in the Greco-Roman world in which lighter skinned people were at the top and darker skinned people were at the bottom of society. In the Mediterranean world, people were often dark-skinned with black hair. Race in the ancient world was defined by country, language, custom or descent from a common ancestor. On the other hand, modern racism is based upon pseudo-science and skin color; thus it cannot be read into the New Testament.

Thus the Jews faced socio-religious prejudice while the Chinese encountered racial prejudice. Despite these two different kinds of discrimination, comparisons are still possible. Both groups had to maintain their boundaries of ethnic identification against a threatening society. Identity issues became paramount because of their marginal status. Becoming Christians only intensified this struggle as their new religion now alienated them from their own group. A new socio-religious identity and a supportive community had to be developed.

Another major difference between Jews and Chinese was the official government policy towards them. The Roman government had a policy of religious tolerance toward the Jews although this did not rule out local anti-Jewish actions.

In contrast, the California legislature and the United States government between 1850 and 1910 enacted many anti-Chinese measures to help gain the labor vote. On the local level, California passed numerous laws against the Chinese which culminated in the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act passed by Congress. Many of these laws were declared unconstitutional by the federal courts which proved to be the only American institution that protected Chinese immigrants against the worst constitutional abuses.

A third difference between the two groups was whether there was continuity between Christianity and their ethnic heritage. Christianity began in the matrix of Judaism and these Jewish traditions were continued by early Jewish Christians. Peter became the leader for Jewish Christians because he upheld the Jewish heritage. Yet as the church attracted more Gentiles, Jewish Christian sects such as Ebionites and the Nazoreans were questioned because of their observance of the law. On the other hand, from the perspective of some Jewish Christians, Paul is the enemy as seen in the Kerygmata Petrou. However, the gap between the two groups widened as church fathers like Ignatius,

Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Epiphanius, and Chrysostom attacked Christians who observed Jewish customs.

In contrast, there was almost total cultural discontinuity for Chinese converts. Chinese culture was viewed as totally incompatible with Christianity. The ideology of American Protestant missionaries interpreted Chinese culture as thoroughly pagan which must be rejected in order to become a Christian. For these missionaries, the definition of a Christian was one who was Protestant, American, and civilized. By Americanizing its Chinese converts in San Francisco, Protestant missionaries believed that they would evangelize their people when they returned to China.

Chinese Christians in San Francisco, as in China, became cultural aliens because they were seen as abandoning Confucius, their ancestors, their religious traditions, and their family. Because Christianity was so identified with Western culture, it was viewed that when one became Christian, one was no longer Chinese.

From these analogies, the eight sessions are planned and are organized as follows:

1. The Jewish and Chinese diaspora.
2. Religious prejudice vs. racial prejudice.
3. Jewish and Chinese American identity as minorities.
4. Antioch, Rome, Asia Minor, and San Francisco.
5. Four types of Jewish Christianity.

6. Ethnic Christian Community: Jewish and Chinese American.
7. Christian Marginality.
8. The fate of Jewish Christianity.

The purpose of this multicultural New Testament curriculum is to help Chinese American Christians critically reflect upon these analogies between Jewish Christians in the diaspora with their own journey of faith. This imagination can be engaged through the understanding of a Greco-Roman society where the superficial marker of skin color was not a pivotal factor. Through their understanding of their marginal status in a society based upon race, Chinese American Christians can realize the critical importance of a church community that will affirm and transform their socio-religious identity. As a religious minority within an ethnic minority, their story reflects the experience of their spiritual ancestors, the Jewish Christians who lived in Antioch, Rome, and Asia Minor.

As the twentieth-first century approaches, the Chinese church in America continues to grow, primarily through immigration. Despite American racism, the early Chinese Christians in San Francisco laid the foundation for the Chinese church in America which will continue to play a vital role in ethnic Protestantism. It is a story that will enrich the history of the American church and will contribute to the understanding of its ethnic mosaic.

CHAPTER 1

The Socio-historic Dimensions of Race

The centrality of race in the United States is the unique perspective of a multi-racial religious education theory. This racial quality of our society structurally subordinates people of color to dominant mainstream culture. This results in the institutionalization of racism that prevents racial-ethnic people from having opportunities equal with Euro-Americans. This racist quality of American society directly contradicts its professed ideals of equality and justice before the law.

The term multiculturalism can include diverse cultural groups such as women, the handicapped, gays and lesbians, minority religious groups, Appalachian Whites, and so forth. While not minimizing the distinctive cultural characteristics of these groups, I have chosen not to use the term multiculturalism which can become so broad that race and racism are easily ignored. To avoid this, the term multi-racial will be used to focus on people of color in the United States whose ancestry is not from Europe.

A multi-racial theory of religious education must begin with the racial reality of the United States. From this overall perspective of race, we can best contextualize religious education in our increasingly diverse society. From this vantage point, one will discover a different perspective on history, the church, curriculum, and the New

Testament. In contrast to the Naturalization Act of 1790 which limits American citizenship to white immigrants, a multi-racial perspective will not make the definition of an American synonymous with being white.

Dominant and Subordinate Cultures

A multi-racial theory begins by acknowledging the asymmetrical relationship between the dominant Euro-American culture and non-Western cultures. There is a dialectical relationship of culture to power, resulting in conflict and social stratification. This uneven distribution of material, capital, and profit is reflected in the structures of society which serve the interests of the dominant class. This class's control of the material and symbolic wealth in society subordinates other groups who lack access to this wealth.

Hegemonic control is achieved in capitalist societies, not through physical coercion nor arbitrary rules by dictators, but "by winning the consent of the subordinated to the authority of the dominant culture."¹ According to Freire, this is achieved through the creation of myths by

the oppressors' depositing myths indispensable to the preservation of the status quo: for example, the myth that the oppressive order is a "free society"....the myth that this order respects

¹ Antonio Gramsci, Selections from Prison Notebooks (New York: International Pub., 1971) quoted in Antonia Darder, Culture and Power in the Classroom: A Critical Foundation for Bicultural Education, Critical Studies in Education and Culture Series (New York: Bergin and Garvey, 1991), 34.

human rights and is therefore worthy of esteem
....the myth of the heroism of the oppressor
classes as defenders of "Western Christian
civilization."²

The social reality of Euro-American culture dominates society through institutions such as schools, the mass media, the courts, politics, etc. This dominant culture "refers to ideologies, social practices, and structures that affirm the central values, interests, and concerns of those who are in control of the material and symbolic wealth in society."³

Because of the dominant culture's ideology, people of color face pressures to assimilate since their cultural heritage becomes marginalized, subordinated and invalidated. Freire labels this phenomenon "cultural invasion" because "those who are invaded come to see their reality with the outlook of the invaders rather than their own....For cultural invasion to succeed, it is essential that those invaded become convinced of their intrinsic inferiority."⁴ This "intrinsic inferiority" is due to the subordinate status imposed on people of color by the dominant Euro-American culture.

Race or Ethnicity?

Everyone has ethnic roots, no matter how diffused is

² Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, trans. M. B. Ramos (New York: Seabury Press, 1970), 135.

³ Darder, 30.

⁴ Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, 151.

one's ancestry. Yet in the United States, people of color encounter a racial society that is based upon superficial indicators such as skin color and facial features. Classifying people by race masks the enormous ethnic diversity within each racial group. This results in the popular notion that "they all look alike." However, within non-white groups, there is a tremendous amount of ethnic diversity. Terms such as Asian Americans, Native Americans, African Americans, and Hispanic Americans are broad categories covering a wide spectrum of ethnic differences. While this is also true for European Americans, they are not so impacted by the structural barriers caused by institutionalized racism and have not usually been oppressed by racism.

Race cannot be equated with ethnicity due to the racial history of America.

The pseudouniversalism of "We are all immigrants, hyphenated Americans, etc.," simply distorts history. It erases the crucial difference between the incorporation of the colonized minorities by force and violence--not only the intensity of their repression but its systematic nature--and that of the European immigrant groups.⁵

Race is commonly viewed as a fixed biological category that is rooted in nature and thus is unchangeable. However, racial differences are not absolute for the biological

⁵ E. San Juan Jr., Racial Formations/Critical Transformations: Articulations of Power in Ethnic and Racial Studies in the United States (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1992), 32.

definitions of race have been elusive and the subject of wide debate.

From Dr.[Samuel] Morton's studies of cranial capacity to contemporary efforts to link race with shared gene pools, the concept of race has defied biological definition. Even today the question of how many races there are elicits a range of popular responses.⁶

Within mainstream sociology, race has traditionally been viewed as one of the many components that comprised ethnicity such as language, customs, religion, nationality, and heredity. Ethnicity, not race, was the irreducible variable in understanding group formation based on culture and descent.

While the concept of ethnicity serves some descriptive purposes in accounting for the fullness of a people's culture, it fails to account for the qualitative difference between the permanence of racial inequality and the temporary nature of ethnic inequality. While the children of racial-ethnic immigrants may be culturally assimilated, institutionalized racism has denied them equal opportunities within American society.

With the publication of Gunnar Myrdal's An American Dilemma in 1944, an ethnicity-based theory has become the dominant paradigm. He argued that the "'American Creed' of democracy, equality and justice had entered into conflict

⁶ Michael Omi and Howard Winant, "By the Waters of Babylon: Race in the United States: Part One," Socialist Review 13, no. 5 (Sept.-Oct. 1983): 32-33.

with black inequality, segregation and racial prejudice in general."⁷ Myrdal was optimistic that racial equality would be achieved and that blacks would assimilate like other white immigrant ethnic groups. Racial groups should be able to overcome ethnic and well as racial inequalities and participate as equals in American society.

Yet throughout most of its history, the United States was a "racial" democracy that provided equal opportunities for white men only. For example, only white male immigrants were eligible for naturalized citizenship when the First Congress passed the 1790 Naturalization Act.

Already in the days of Jefferson....the nation has assumed the form of a racially exclusive democracy--democratic in the sense that it sought to provide equal opportunities for the pursuit of happiness by its white citizens through the enslavement of Afro-Americans, extermination of Indians, and territorial expansion largely at the expense of Mexicans and Indians.⁸

While there was debate in the First Congress over the length of residency needed for citizenship, there was no discussion over restricting citizenship only to free white men. The Naturalization Law of 1790 was in force for 162 years until it was repealed by the Walter-McCurran Act of 1952 which stated that "the right of a person to become a

⁷ Quoted in Michael Omi and Howard Winant, Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s, Critical Social Thought (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986), 17.

⁸ Alexander Saxton, "Nathan Glazer, Daniel Moynihan and the Cult of Ethnicity," AmerAsia Journal 4 (Summer 1977): 145.

naturalized citizen of the United States shall not be denied or abridged because of race."⁹ While allowing for European white immigrant groups to become politically enfranchised, the 1790 Naturalization Law

specifically denied citizenship to other groups on a racial basis. White suffrage was extended to white men, it was withheld from men of color. Thus what actually developed historically in American society was a pattern of citizenship and suffrage which drew a very sharp distinction between "ethnicity" and "race."¹⁰

Political suffrage was also limited to white males until white women were granted the right to vote in the 1920s. Non-whites faced a pattern of racial exclusion in citizenship and voting privileges. Even after Native Americans were granted general citizenship, they still could not vote in several western states until 1924. Because of poll taxes, literacy and property requirements, African Americans were not given the general right to vote until the 1965 Voting Rights Act.¹¹

The weakness of the ethnicity paradigm was that it failed to account for this exclusion of people of color from their political rights such as citizenship and suffrage.

⁹ Ronald Takaki, "Reflections on Racial Patterns in America," in From Different Shores: Perspectives on Race and Ethnicity in America, ed. Ronald Takaki (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1987), 28.

¹⁰ Takaki, "Reflections," 29.

¹¹ See Takaki, "Reflections," 28-29.

Structural barriers continued to render the immigrant analogy inappropriate and the trajectory of incorporation did not develop as the ethnicity paradigm had envisioned. Many blacks (and later, many Latinos, Indians and Asian Americans as well) rejected ethnic identity in favor of a more radical racial identity which demanded group rights and recognition. Given these developments, ethnicity theory found itself increasingly in opposition to the demands of minority movements.¹²

Symbolically, there was no Statue of Liberty welcoming African slaves and non-white immigrants to America. Chinese immigrants, for example, were held in detention in barracks on Angel Island between 1910 and 1940 until they could prove their legal status and enter San Francisco. Unlike European immigrants, racially defined minorities faced genocide, slavery, colonization, and exclusion.

Assimilationist Ideology: Robert Park

Early in America's historical development Anglo-Saxon values and cultural norms were institutionalized as American norms and as acceptable standards of behavior. They were perpetuated and transmitted through attempts to assimilate subsequent generations of European immigrants.

According to Robert Park's famous race relation cycle, assimilation results when different ethnic groups have contact with each other. This cycle has four phases: contact, competition, accommodation, and assimilation. Park's theories dominated sociology from the 1920s to the 1960s resulting in social scientists viewing assimilation as

¹² Omi and Winant, Racial Formation, 20.

the most logical response to the problem of racism.

Park's theories were used to describe and prescribe the experience of all ethnic groups. "It was at once a law ofmankind's [sic] race relations as a whole and a description of California's Oriental 'problem' from 1850 to 1930."¹³ Yet assimilation, the goal of his fourfold cycle, was not verifiable by the research data. Park lead a team of researchers to study the Chinese and Japanese communities along the West Coast. Their data contradicted his race relation theory for it "suggested that a racial minority's adoption of the larger society's culture did not necessarily guarantee its acceptance into that society."¹⁴

Other studies based on Park's race relation cycle have failed to consider the barriers of institutional racism against ethnic groups that were already culturally assimilated like African-Americans. The assimilation of America's dominant values such as democracy, individualism, freedom, efficiency, hard work, etc., does not mean acceptance into social institutions as Park's theory would have predicted.

Park's influence continues today as assimilation, or

¹³ Stanford M. Lyman, "The Race Relations Cycle of Robert E. Park," in The Asian in North America, ed. Stanford M. Lyman (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 1977), 3.

¹⁴ Lyman, "Race Relations," 4. Yet Lyman considers Park's fourfold cycle still valuable, not as a theory, but as a model, like Max Weber's "ideal-type" in which a vast body of data can be organized from which hypotheses can be drawn. See Lyman, "Race Relations," 6-7.

Anglo conformity, continues to be the basic ideological assumption in the United States. This ideology is so entrenched in American society that even "the policy formulated by those deeply concerned about the education of ethnic minorities was assimilationist oriented."¹⁵

Racial Formation and Definition

The history of the United States demonstrates how racial definitions were based upon the shifting winds of prevailing ideologies. Definitions of race have been continually contested because racial categories are based upon socio-political forces. "Race is indeed a pre-eminently sociohistorical concept. Racial categories and the meaning of race are given concrete expression by the specific social relations and historical context in which they are embedded."¹⁶ The result is that racial definitions are contested within society as categories of race are formed, reformed, transformed or destroyed through social, economic, and political forces. This fluidity in the content of racial meanings reveals how the definition of race is a continuing process, or as Omi and Winant have described it, racial formation

should be understood as a process: (1) through which an unstable and contradictory set of social practices and beliefs are articulated in an ideology based fundamentally on race; (2) through

¹⁵ James A. Banks, Multiethnic Education: Theory and Practice, 2nd ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1988), 6.

¹⁶ Omi and Winant, Racial Formation, 60.

which the particular ideology thus generated is enforced by as system of racial subjection having both institutional and individual means of reproduction at its disposal; and (3) through which new instabilities and contradictions emerge at a subsequent historical point and challenge the pre-existing system once more.¹⁷

By viewing race as a biologically fixed and unchangeable category, this masks how the definitions of race are historically constructed. Due to the critical role of politics and ideology in defining race, the meaning of race is subject to continuous challenge and redefinition.

This fluidity of racial formation can be seen by how various meanings have been given to "black" and "white" throughout United States history. The early English colonists at first did not define themselves in racial terms: "From the initially most common term Christian, at mid-century there was a marked drift toward English and free. After about 1680, taking the colonies as a whole, a new term appeared--white."¹⁸

In the nineteenth century, southern European, Jewish, and Irish people were classified as "non-whites" because they were different from the Anglo-Saxons. Yet later they were included as "whites" because

nativism was only effectively curbed by the institutionalization of a racial order that drew

¹⁷ Omi and Winant, "By the Waters of Babylon: Part One," 50.

¹⁸ Jordan, 95.

the color line around rather than within Europe.the definition of the working class in racial terms--as "white." This was not accomplished by any decree but rather by white workers themselves. Many of them were recent immigrants, who organized on racial lines as much as on traditionally defined class lines.¹⁹

Thus the definition of "white" was identified with immigrants from Europe which now included Jews, Irish, and southern Europeans. The labor movement was consolidated by excluding non-whites, especially Chinese workers. It was not only a working class movement but a racial struggle. As one history of the unionism described it:

The anti-Chinese agitation in California, culminating as it did in the Exclusion Act passed by Congress in 1882, was doubtless the most important single factor in the history of American labor, for without it the entire country might have been overrun by Mongolian [*sic*] labor and the labor movement might have become a conflict of races instead of one of classes.²⁰

While the definition of "white" was being formulated, it was not without its ambiguities and contradictions. The fluid definition of whiteness can be demonstrated by conflicting judicial decisions that grappled with the problem of defining a racial group. The case of the Armenians reveals how the line between white and nonwhite can become blurred. Fleeing from genocide, 50,000 Armenians

¹⁹ Michael Omi, and Howard Winant, "By the Waters of Babylon: Race in the United States: Part Two," Socialist Review 72, vol. 13, no. 6 (Nov.-Dec. 1983): 65.

²⁰ Selig Perlman, The History of Trade Unionism in the United States (New York: Augustus Kelley, 1950), 52 quoted in Omi and Winant Racial Formation, 65.

were categorized as Asiatics in 1909 and so were denied naturalized citizenship. But according to the historian Ronald Takaki, Armenians were soon not seen as Asian.

But shortly afterward, in the Halladjian decision, a U.S. circuit court of appeals ruled that Armenians were Caucasian because of the ethnography, history, and appearance. Four years later California passed its alien land law, but the restriction did not apply to Armenians.²¹

This judicial process could also contradict itself. Asian Indians were defined as Caucasians according to the Supreme Court decisions in the 1910 Balsara and 1913 Ajkoy Kumar Mazumdar decisions and thus eligible for citizenship. Yet in the 1923 Bhagat Singh Thind decision, the Supreme Court reversed itself and ruled that Asian Indians were not ineligible for citizenship. Although they were Caucasian, they were not white. According to Takaki, this Supreme Court decision was based upon the following argument:

Arguing that the definition of race had to be based on the "understanding of the common man," the Court held that the term "white person" meant an immigrant from northern or western EuropeThe intention of the Founding Fathers was to "confer the privilege of citizenship upon that class of persons" they knew as "white."²²

Thus Asian Indians were defined as non-white Caucasians, a contradiction which does not seem to be based upon the "understanding of the common man." In a similar manner, all

²¹ Ronald Takaki, Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans (Boston: Little, Brown, 1989), 15.

²² Takaki, Strangers, 299.

North Africans including Egyptians, are classified as Caucasian by the U.S. Department of State today!²³ Thus the definition of "white" and "Caucasian" has been subject to changing judicial and immigration laws based on the prevailing winds of politics and ideology.

The Racial State

Despite numerous attempts, the United States cannot permanently institutionalize a racial system nor can it always manipulate the demands of racial-ethnic groups. During the nineteenth century, the racial system of the United States recognized only three groups: whites, blacks, and Indians. There were unsuccessful attempts to fit Mexicans and Chinese into this system. The Chinese were defined as Indians in a 1854 California Supreme Court decision and so denied them political rights. Mexicans were defined as "white" in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. Consider how the census has changed its perspective in categorizing Spanish-speaking residents.

Latinos surfaced as an ethnic category, "Persons of Spanish Mother Tongue," in 1950 and 1960. In 1970 they appeared as "Persons of Both Spanish Surname and Spanish Mother Tongue," and in 1980 the "Hispanic" category was created. Such changes suggest the state's inability to "racialize" a particular group--to institutionalize it in a politically organized racial system.²⁴

²³ See Cain Hope Felder, "Afrocentrism, the Bible, and the Politics of Difference," Princeton Seminary Bulletin 15 (1994): 139.

²⁴ Omi and Winant, Racial Formation, 75-76.

The United States can be viewed as an inherently racial state because its institutions are racial in nature through its policies, rules, and social relations. Omi and Winant described this in the following way:

The racial order is equilibrated by the state-encoded in law, organized through policy-making, and enforced by a repressive apparatus. But the equilibrium thus achieved is unstable, for the great variety of conflicting interests encapsulated in racial meanings and identities can be no more than pacified-at best-by the state Under "normal" conditions, state institutions have effectively routinized the enforcement and organization of the prevailing racial order.²⁵

However, during the civil rights movement of the 1960s, this equilibrium was upset when racial groups made social and political demands upon the government. Omi and Winant illustrate this by tracing the concept of Asian American:

The concept of "Asian American," for example, arose as a political label in the 1960s. This reflected the similarity of treatment that various groups such as Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, Korean Americans, etc. (groups which had not previously considered themselves as having a common political agenda) received at the hands of state institutions.²⁶

Thus the racial system in American history has been in continual flux as it tried to categorize people by the elusive category of race.

The Beginnings of Euro-American Racism

Tracing the development of American racism is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Rather, to understand how

²⁵ Omi and Winant, Racial Formation, 79.

²⁶ Omi and Winant, Racial Formation, 84.

the trajectory of racism developed in the New World, this study will focus on the development of slavery in Virginia and the attempts to enslave Native Americans in Massachusetts in the early colonial period. Only in this historical context can the treatment of Chinese Americans be fully understood. Once these racist patterns were established, the Chinese in America could more easily be viewed as the inferior "other" just as Native Americans and African Americans were during the early colonial era.

Responses to Black Skin Color

Portugal and Spain had close ties with North Africa for centuries and had, in fact, been invaded by the Moors, a people who were darker and had a more advanced civilization. Following their lead, England began her overseas exploration and reached West Africa after 1550. According to Winthrop Jordan, the skin color of the Africans made a powerful impression upon the English, in contrast to the Spanish and Portuguese, because:

England's principle contact with Africans came in West Africa and the Congo where men were not merely dark but almost literally black: one of the fairest-skinned nations suddenly came face to face with one of the darkest peoples on earth.²⁷

Various reasons were devised to explain the causes of dark skin color such as the climate and geography of Africa. It was believed that less sun would result in the lightening of skin color. But by the middle of the seventeenth

²⁷ Jordan, 6.

century, this was seen as untrue since Africans in Europe and America were not getting whiter. This observation that skin color was unchangeable was supported by Jer. 13:23: "Can the Ethiopian change his skin?"

Noah's curse on Canaan to be a "servant of servants" when Ham saw Noah's nakedness in his drunkenness (Gen. 9:21-27) was used by Jerome and Augustine to explain slavery but not with Africans. While they assumed that Africans were descendants of Ham, Jerome and Augustine did not use this curse to explain the African's complexion. Rather, the Babylonian Talmud and the Midrash Rabbah suggested connections with blackness with infection and pollution.

"Ham was smitten in his skin," that Noah told Ham "your seed will be ugly and dark-skinned," and that Ham was father "of Canaan who brought curses into the world, of Canaan who was cursed, of Canaan who darkened the faces of mankind," of Canaan "the notorious world-darkener."²⁸

This curse on Ham could then account for the skin color of Africans within the Genesis account of history. It is possible that these Jewish sources influenced some Christian writers during the Renaissance when there was interest in Jewish writings.

The question arises as to why, in the sixteenth century, "a tale which logically implied slavery but absolutely nothing about skin color should have become an autonomous and popular explanation of the Negro's

²⁸ Jordan, 18.

blackness."²⁹

When this story of Ham became popular in the seventeenth century, it was used to explain the African skin color and not as justification for Negro slavery.

The extraordinary persistence of this idea in the face of centuries of incessant refutation was probably sustained by a feeling that blackness could scarcely be anything but a curse and by the common need to confirm the facts of nature by specific reference to Scripture....The difficulty with the story of Ham's indiscretion was that extraordinarily strenuous exegesis was required in order to bear on the Negro's black skin.³⁰

However, Jordan notes that by "the end of the seventeenth century dark complexion had become an independent rationale for enslavement."³¹ Thus one can see from such an interpretation of the Bible that Christianity played a major role in rationalizing the enslavement of Africans due to their skin color.

The Beginnings of Slavery

The process of the American institution of slavery was a gradual one and the details of how it developed can never be reconstructed. Africans first appeared in Virginia in 1619, but their status during the next twenty years is unknown. It is not clear at this time whether Africans were treated like the European indentured servants who served their masters without pay from four to seven years to repay

²⁹ Jordan, 18.

³⁰ Jordan, 19.

³¹ Jordan, 96.

their transatlantic fare. However, the status of Africans became more clear later on: "Between 1640 and 1660 there is evidence of enslavement, and after 1660 slavery crystallized on the statute books of Maryland, Virginia, and other colonies."³² The English were not the first Europeans to enslave Africans as Portuguese explorers supplied Spanish and Portuguese settlements in the New World with African slaves in the fifteenth century. Thus the pattern of slavery was already established, which was suggestive to the English.

Englishmen did possess a concept of slavery, formed by the cluster of several rough but not illogical equations. The slave was treated like a beast. Slavery was inseparable from the evil in men; it was God's punishment upon Ham's prurient disobedience. Enslavement was captivity, the loser's lot in a contest of power. Slaves were infidels or heathens. On every count, Negroes qualified.³³

Thus this trajectory of slavery began with the appearance of Africans in Virginia in 1619 (whose status was unclear) to post-1660 when slavery appeared in the statute books in some of the colonies. This period of about forty years sealed the fate of Africans from servants for a limited time to lifelong slavery.

Slavery in Virginia

Because of its geography, fertile soil, and the development of tobacco as a cash crop, Virginia's need for

³² Jordan, 44.

³³ Jordan, 56.

cheap labor paved the way for full-scale chattel slavery. Here, one can roughly outline how slavery and the rationale for it slowly developed without outside influence because, according to Jordan,

the settlers of Virginia did not possess either the legal or Scriptural learning of the New England Puritans whose conception of the just war had opened the way to the enslavement of Indians.³⁴

In the beginning, not all Africans in Virginia were lifetime slaves. George Frederickson demonstrated that

[T]he handful who arrived before the 1630s, were actually considered term rather than lifetime servants, because the notion that slavery was the proper status of imported Africans had not yet taken hold.³⁵

The census may suggest that some of the African may have been already baptized by the Spanish since the first twenty slaves who arrived in 1619 were captured from the Spanish. In a 1624 case, a free Negro named John Phillip was allowed to testify in a lawsuit because he was previously a Christian in England. A baptized slave could not be held in lifetime bondage because of his Christian status. "Since being a Christian was a mark of freedom, the question of whether a baptized African could be so construed

³⁴ Jordan, 72.

³⁵ George M. Fredrickson, White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1981), 76.

was constantly before the courts."³⁶ Lifetime bondage could only be imposed upon Africans who were not Christians.

The number of slaves grew slowly: there were only 300 Africans in 1650 which was 2 percent of Virginia's 15,000 residents. By 1675, this number grew only to 1,600 or 5 percent out of a population of 32,000.³⁷ Reasons for this small growth of slaves were that Virginians would rather have Negroes as servants and they feared a rapid increase in their numbers. Yet on the other hand, because white indentured servants were more difficult and costly, the landowners needed a more stable and inexpensive labor force.

Although the majority of the planters detested the African and abominated slavery, they came to believe that the success or failure of the Virginia experiment depended to a great extent upon the Negro.³⁸

The survival of their livelihoods, the tobacco plantations, overcame this reluctance to use African slaves.

While most whites were servants or ex-servants, what set Africans apart was their designation as Negroes or "negars." According to Robert Cope, "Earliest court records speak of them as 'negar,' 'negar servants,' a 'negro

³⁶ Joseph Boskin, Into Slavery: Racial Decisions in the Virginia Colony, America's Alternatives Series (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1976), 41.

³⁷ Ronald Takaki, A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America (Boston: Little, Brown, 1993), 58-59.

³⁸ Robert S. Cope, Carry Me Back: Slavery and Servitude in Seventeenth Century Virginia (Pikeville, Ky.: Pikeville College Press, 1973), 5.

belonging to,' etc."³⁹ In addition, the first Virginia census did not give Negroes a personal name as it did for white men.⁴⁰

The Virginia Assembly deprived Negroes of rights that were granted the colonists. In 1639, both free and enslaved Negroes were denied the right to bear arms, unlike the practice with white servants. Negroes were also punished with longer periods of indenture if they ran away as compared to white servants. After 1640, court records clearly show the sale of Negroes for life including any future children, while on the other hand, other court records in the mid-1640s revealed that some Negroes were freed and even acquired property such as their own servants.⁴¹ Despite this mixed picture, Cope points out an emerging acceptance of slavery.

After 1650 most of the county records point to the conclusion that slavery was an accepted institution despite the fact that there was no statutory recognition of it. The truth is that no attempt was even made to supply legal ground for holding Negroes in bondage. Custom supplied all the necessary authority. At first, legislation merely resolved some uncertainties concerning a well established principle.⁴²

According to Cope, this attitude becomes formalized a few years later. He notes that "the first general sanction

³⁹ Cope, 15.

⁴⁰ Jordan, 73.

⁴¹ Jordan, 74.

⁴² Cope, 10.

of slavery in Virginia was given in March, 1661."⁴³ This act concerned runaway Negroes whom were now recognized as slaves for life. Yet this 1661 act affected only recently imported Africans and those without labor contracts. Other Negroes who were freed or indentured were protected from this legislation. A consequence of this law was that Negroes, especially females, commanded higher prices than white servants as shown by bills of sale and estate inventories. According to Joseph Boskin:

William Burdett's inventory in 1643 listed eight white servants with time to serve at assessments of 400 to 1,100 pounds of tobacco as compared to a black youth--"Caine the negro boy, very Obedient"--and a young girl who were valued at 3,000 and 2,000 respectively, with an indication of remaining service time.⁴⁴

The fact that not all Negroes or mulattoes were slaves for life can be seen in the case of Thomas Bushrod who purchased a mulatto as a servant for life in 1644. Yet for some reason, the Virginia Assembly freed him. Yet in response, the owner "immediately sought compensation for the loss of a laborer; that he could do so reflected upon blacks as being in service in perpetuity."⁴⁵

Negroes were separated sexually from whites as seen by a 1630 case. A Virginia court sentenced Hugh Davis to be publicly whipped because a of sexual union with a Negro.

⁴³ Cope, 11.

⁴⁴ Boskin, 42.

⁴⁵ Boskin, 41.

"With other instances of punishment for interracial union in the ensuing years, fornication rather than miscegenation may well have been the primary offense."⁴⁶ Because of a repugnance for miscegenation, Virginia punished whites with a double fine for fornicating with Negroes in 1662. This act also defined mulatto children as having the status of the mother. In 1691, Virginia finally prohibited all interracial unions and white violators were banished. The status of a child of a mixed union was now legislated as a black slave instead of being dependent upon the mother's status as in the 1662 act. Thus white women were penalized for bearing a mulatto child.

The November 1682 Virginia law legalized the social practices of debasing the Negro and even baptism was no longer a condition of freedom. Because of this explicit law, this was the "last year in which it was possible for a Negro to come to Virginia as a servant and to acquire freedom after a limited term of service was 1682."⁴⁷

This law clarified that all Negroes were slaves, even those who were baptized. It repealed an earlier 1670 law which granted freedom to Indians and Negroes after their term of servitude was over. This Virginia law stated that:

[A]ll servants....whether Negroes, Moors,
Mollatoes [sic] or Indians, who and whose
parentage and native country are not christian at

⁴⁶ Jordan, 78.

⁴⁷ Cope, 14.

the time of their first purchase....before such their importation and bringing into this country, they shall be converted to the christian faithshall be adjudged, deemed and taken to be slaves to all intents and purposes, any law, usage or custome to the contrary notwithstanding.⁴⁸

By 1700, chattel slavery was legalized with the necessary enforcement of such laws by the power of the police. In 1705, the Virginia Assembly went further in separating whites from Negroes: they legislated the seizure of all farm animals belonging to Negroes and transferring them to poor whites. During this same year, the Virginia Assembly also "declared Negroes ineligible for public office, (a prohibition which suggests the possibility that a Negro may have occupied one) and in 1723 excluded Negroes from the polls."⁴⁹ During the American Revolution, the Virginia Assembly enticed enlistment by awarding "each soldier with a bounty of three hundred acres of land and a slave."⁵⁰

With the increase of Negroes pouring into Virginia to meet the needs of tobacco plantations, there was the natural fear of revolt or massacre by this alien population. "At the end of the seventeenth century there were 23,000 Negro slaves in a population of 95,000 in Virginia, a fact which

⁴⁸ William W. Hening, Statutes at Large: A Collection of all the Laws of Virginia, vol. 2 (1823; reprint, Charlottesville: Univ. Press of Virginia, 1969), 490-92, quoted in Boskin, 94-95.

⁴⁹ Jordan, 126.

⁵⁰ Takaki, Different Mirror, 68.

justified the fears of many colonists."⁵¹

Jordan concludes:

Indications of perpetual service, the very nub of slavery, coincided with indications that English settlers discriminated against Negro women, withheld arms from Negroes, and--though the timing is far less certain--reacted unfavorably to interracial sexual union. The coincidence suggests a mutual relationship between slavery and unfavorable assessment of Negroes. Rather than slavery causing "prejudice," or vice versa, they seem rather to have generated each other.⁵²

Thus the African became the enslaved "other" in Virginia. The die was cast for the institutionalization of slavery whose effects continue to influence both whites and blacks today.

The Role of Christianity

The English referred to African slaves as "Negroes," "blacks," or "Africans," but almost never as "heathens," "pagans," or "savages." However, in the mind of English settlers, the non-Christian status of the African slaves contributed to Negroes being considered the uncivilized "other."

Initially, religion served to identify different racial groups. The English colonists viewed themselves as Christians and the Africans as heathens. But this line was shortly ruptured by the conversion of Africans to Christianity. Hence, laws were passed that separated race from religion.⁵³

⁵¹ Cope, 16.

⁵² Jordan, 80.

⁵³ Takaki, Different Mirror, 59.

If a Negro was a Christian before he landed, then he would be considered a servant and not a slave. Yet converted Negroes sometimes were forced to remain servants even after their labor contract was completed. The Negro's lack of Christianity was an important issue as laws had to be passed that reassured slave owners that conversion would not result in manumission. Thus the slave's spiritual condition would have no bearing upon his or her physical status as a slave. Race and religion were intertwined for English colonists, but not for Africans according to Jordan:

[T]here is no evidence to suggest that the colonists distinguished consistently between the Negroes they converted and those they did not. It was racial, not religious, slavery which developed in America. Still, in the early years, the English settlers most frequently contrasted themselves with Negroes by the term Christian, though they also sometimes described themselves as English; here the explicit religious distinction would seem to have lain at the core of English reaction.⁵⁴

This quote suggests that the term "Christian" meant more than just doctrine. It was the English settlers' mark of identity as being civilized and white over against the Negro's being savages and black.

In a 1705 Virginia code, the term "Christian" was defined in racial terms rather than religious ones.

That no negroes, mulattos, or Indians, although christians, or Jews, Moors, Mahometans, or other infidels, shall, at any time, purchase any

⁵⁴ Jordan, 93.

christian servant, nor any other, except of their own complexion, or such as are declared slaves by this act.⁵⁵

Thus Christianity for the English was somehow linked to and defined by their white skin.

Slaves who had been baptized before they arrived in Virginia were exempt from lifelong slavery. This "loophole of prior conversion was finally closed in 1682....From this point on, heathen descent rather than actual heathenism was the legal basis for slavery in Virginia."⁵⁶ This laid the groundwork for the beginnings of the transition from religious to racial slavery. Simply by having heathen parents, an African was enslaved for life since Christian conversion no longer mattered. Thus there was no longer a religious justification for slavery, only a racial one.

In 1667, the Virginia Assembly decreed that the baptism of Africans did not make them free and was enlarged in 1682 to include Indians and Muslims. However, this decree went against the English common-law tradition from the time of the Reformation that one cannot enslave a Christian. This was why slaveholders prevented missionaries from preaching to their slaves.

This 1667 Virginia law encouraged slave owners to convert their slaves without the fear of manumission. Despite this law, there was still the reluctance of owners

⁵⁵ Jordan, 94.

⁵⁶ Fredrickson, White Supremacy, 78.

to baptize their slaves so they restricted missionary work among their slaves. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) began in 1702 by the Church of England to minister among the slaves. Almost from the start, their missionaries "complained of the virtually universal refusal of masters to permit their slaves to hear the gospel."⁵⁷ Yet on the other hand,

SPG leaders insisted that making a Christian of the slave was far more important than making a free man of him. It seemed never to occur to most missionaries that giving the slave his freedom first might have made Christianity more attractive, thereby facilitating his conversion.⁵⁸

The conflict between enslaving Africans and converting them was decided in favor of the slaveowner's economic interest of their lifelong servitude. Those "who urged or even merely permitted their slaves to convert--for whatever reason--remained a small minority of the slaveholding population."⁵⁹

Many Protestant clergy also believed that the enslavement of Africans was needed in order to convert them. Yet there was resistance to converting slaves: "In his 1724 report on 'the state of the church and clergy' in Virginia, the Reverend Hugh Jones conceded that most whites opposed

⁵⁷ Forrest G. Wood, The Arrogance of Faith: Christianity and Race in America from the Colonial Era to the Twentieth Century (New York: Knopf, 1990), 128.

⁵⁸ Forrest Wood, 120.

⁵⁹ Forrest Wood, 127.

the conversion of blacks and Indians."⁶⁰

It was not until the Great Awakening in the 1740s that slaves were converted in large numbers. "The fifty thousand Blacks out of the one million in the country who had become Christian in 1800, did so in spite of, rather than because of the evangelists."⁶¹ This low conversion rate of 5% among slaves was due the African's inability to reconcile the message of the evangelizers with their conduct. How could they convert to a religion or worship a God whose adherents lived in contradiction to what they were teaching?

Class: a Hidden Reason for Slavery

In terms of class interest, white indentured servants and freemen had similar needs as Negroes: to possess land and become landowners. Yet the landed elite in Virginia protected their economic interests by lengthening the time of servitude for whites and gaining the best land for themselves in the midst of land speculation. In hopes of gaining cheap land taken from the Indians, white freemen found that their hope of becoming landowners was unfulfilled.

This frustration of indentured servants, freemen, and slaves threatened the social order. Because all whites were required by law to have a gun to protect the colony, the

⁶⁰ Forrest Wood, 128.

⁶¹ Lawrence N. Jones, "They Sought a City: The Black Church and Churchmen in the Nineteenth Century," Union Seminary Quarterly Review 26 (1971): 258.

landed elite feared an armed insurrection. This fear was realized in 1676 when Nathaniel Bacon, a landholder and a member of the Virginia council, organized a militia against the Indians. According to Takaki:

Bacon calculated that an expedition against the Indians would serve a dual purpose--eliminate a foe and redirect the white lower class's anger away from the white elite to the Indians. The unruly and armed poor would focus on the external red enemy, rather than on the legislature's high taxes and the governor's failure to provide for defense against the Indians.⁶²

This action shocked Governor William Berkeley who feared arming lower-class whites more than the Indians. Bacon ignored these concerns and led his militia against the Indians. Despite these actions, Bacon was declared a rebel and charged with treason by Governor Berkeley. Bacon then marched to Jamestown with five hundred of his armed men. Takaki describes the results:

Blacks joined Bacon's army as they realized that they had a greater stake in the rebellion than their white brothers in arms, for many of them were bound servants for life....Bacon had unleashed a radical class boundlessness that threatened the very foundations of order in Virginia."⁶³

Bacon burned Jamestown to the ground and forced Berkeley to escape by ship. However, Bacon died from illness and Governor Berkeley used violence and deceit to suppress the insurrection.

⁶² Takaki, Different Mirror, 63-64.

⁶³ Takaki, Different Mirror, 64.

Bacon's Rebellion had exposed the volatility of class tensions within white society in Virginia. During the conflict, the specter of class revolution had become a reality, and the scare shook the elite landholders: they were no longer confident they could control the "giddy multitude."⁶⁴

Thus the class interests of black and white indentured servants and freemen coincided as both desired to own land.

The landed elite were at a crossroads. If they gave land and political privileges to white freemen, they would endanger their own self-interest as a ruling class. What the elite did was to import more black slaves and reorganize Jamestown into a biracial society. By increasing the black slave population, the economic interests of lower-class whites would better coincide with the elite's interest in maintaining the status quo.

The decade of the 1660s was pivotal in the transition from the landowners use of white indentured servants to their dependence on black slaves. Several factors came together: the anger of white workers was growing over their inability to own land, slavery was becoming the law in Virginia, and the number of black slaves was increasing. Yet it remained unclear whether slavery would be the main source of labor.

After Bacon's Rebellion, however, the turn to slavery became sharp and significant. Even though the supply of white indentured servants seemed to have declined at this time, planters did not try to expand their recruitment efforts. Instead,

⁶⁴ Takaki, Different Mirror, 65.

they did something they had resisted until then--prefer black slaves over white indentured servants.⁶⁵

Four years after Bacon's Rebellion, the Virginia Assembly pardoned white servants guilty of plundering during the revolt, but did not extend this pardon for blacks.

Takaki describes the outcome:

[T]he gentry reinforced the separate labor status for each group: blacks were forced to occupy a racially subordinate and stigmatized status, one below all whites regardless of their class. Black was made to signify slave.⁶⁶

Race, not class, now separated whites from blacks. No matter what their status, whites were granted privileges that were denied to blacks. For example, the Virginia legislature allowed whites to physically abuse blacks without punishment while blacks were given thirty lashes if they did the same to whites.⁶⁷ Thus began the trajectory of institutionalized racism that would oppress people of color in the United States to this day.

Native Americans in New England

In their appeal for government and private funds, the English professed that the conversion of the Indians was a prominent reason for establishing colonies in the New World. The Massachusetts Bay Colony was chartered because its primary mission of the plantation was to:

⁶⁵ Takaki, Different Mirror, 65.

⁶⁶ Takaki, Different Mirror, 67.

⁶⁷ Takaki, Different Mirror, 67.

"Winn and incite the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the onlie true God and Savior of Mankinde, and the Christian Faythe." The seal of the colony bore a figure of an Indian with the worlds inscribed, "Come over and help us."⁶⁸

The Plymouth Colony in 1636 passed laws providing for the preaching of the gospel to the Indians. John Eliot, the best known missionary to the Indians, established towns of "Praying Indians." "By 1665 there were fourteen such towns in Massachusetts, and in all of New England there were perhaps as many as 2,500 converted Indians. "Apparently, Eliot did not plan that Indians should become assimilated in white communities"⁶⁹ since the Indians themselves wanted to be separate.

Yet Puritan attempts to convert the Indians were few since their contacts with the Indians resulted in fear and hatred. In their attempts to convert the Indians, the Puritans "hoped to meet the Pequods in heaven, but wished to keep apart from them on earth, nay, to exterminate them from the land."⁷⁰

The 1675-76 Indian uprising known as King Philip's War effectively stopped missionary efforts. According to

⁶⁸ Thomas F. Gossett, Race: The History of an Idea in America (1963; reprint, New York: Schocken Books, 1965), 18.

⁶⁹ Gossett, 19.

⁷⁰ Louis Ruchames, "Introduction: The Sources of Racial Thought in Colonial America," in Racial Thought in America: From the Puritans to Abraham Lincoln, A Documentary History, ed. Louis Ruchames, vol. 1 (Amherst: Univ. of Massachusetts Press, 1969), 10.

Gossett, the war

was fought with great cruelty on both sides, and for a long time afterward the idea of Indians as potential Christians was received among the colonists with considerable skepticism. Even the Praying Indians were suspect.⁷¹

After the King Philip's War, the Puritan's stereotype of the Indians as bloodthirsty savages was deepened. The work of John Eliot was undone as the towns of Praying Indians were disbanded. Little hope remained among converting the Indians and when Eliot died in 1690, missions among the Indians were the exception and not the rule.

For the English, the Indians represented the opposite of English culture: savage, cruel, barbaric, cannibalistic, and libidinous. They lacked Christianity, clothes, cities, and swords. Yet the Indians in New England were highly advanced in their agricultural methods of raising corn through crop rotation and fertilization. English colonists rationalized their God-given right to take Indian land because of their heathenness and their laziness which prevented them from becoming civilized.

This process of Indian dehumanization developed a peculiarly New England dimension as the colonists associated Indians with the Devil. Indian identity became a matter of "descent": their racial markers indicated ineradicable qualities of savagery.⁷²

Thus these stereotypes of Indians as savage and demonic were

⁷¹ Gossett, 20.

⁷² Takaki, Different Mirror, 38.

contrasted with the Puritan's strong identity with Israel as God's chosen people.

As the elect of God, the Puritans had divine permission to exterminate the heathen in their new Canaan. The Puritan minister Increase Mather, in his Brief History of the War, justified this killing of Indians because

the "Lord God of our Fathers hath given us for a rightful Possession" the land of "the Heathen People amongst whom we live"...."the wonderful Providence of God, who did (as with Jacob of old, and after that with the Children of Israel) lay the fear of the English and the dread of them upon all the Indians."⁷³

Mather's quote suggests that the Indian fear of the English can be equated with the fear of God.

However, Puritan attempts to enslave Indians were insignificant and never became established in the colonies. Indians were a formidable threat to the colonists and could retaliate if attacked. Friendly tribes were respected by the English while Indians of warring tribes who were captured were shipped to the West Indies as slaves.

Indian slavery, however, did not develop in the continental colonies. Indian slaves could escape and find refuge outside the settlements, and formidable Indian military power deterred the English from exploiting them as slaves.⁷⁴

Unlike slaves imported from Africa, Indians were at home in the New World and thus it was very difficult for the English

⁷³ Quoted in Francis Jennings, The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1975), 183.

⁷⁴ Takaki, Different Mirror, 52-53.

to enslave them.

For the Puritans, conversion of the Indians "did not mean a simple declaration for Christ, but, rather, required the savage first to give up his pagan ways and adopt the white man's habits--in short, to repudiate his culture."⁷⁵ If the Indian did not convert and have the good sense to see the truth of the Christian faith, then the colonists could rationalize the violence they inflicted upon the Indians. "The founders had made a good-faith effort to uplift the savage, the colonists reasoned; if the effort failed, it was the savage's fault."⁷⁶

Behind false religion was the devil whom the early Protestants closely connected to the heathenism of the Indians and Africans. In Jamestown, missionaries were told by Virginia Company officials to "make every effort to convert Indian children, who, because they were 'chayned under the bond of Deathe unto the Divell,' could be forcibly taken from their parents."⁷⁷ Because the Puritans were on God's side, they had the right to impose Christianity upon Indians, separate children from their parents, and to kill them as infidels who were evil.

Because the Indians opposed the Puritans, they were of the devil and became the demonized "other." The Indian

⁷⁵ Forrest Wood, 20.

⁷⁶ Forrest Wood, 19.

⁷⁷ Forrest Wood, 35-36.

presence was to test their faith since the Puritans viewed them as

"enemies of God's People" and as "pawns in God's plan" to test the true believer and remind him of his superiority and obligation. Hence he believed that it was his "God-given duty to stamp [Indian religion] out wherever possible."⁷⁸

God was thus identified with the Puritan cause which justified whatever they wanted to impose on the Indians.

Conclusion: The Enslaving of Non-whites

Only whites could own slaves for in 1670, Virginia "enacted a law declaring that 'no negro or Indian,' though baptized and free, should be allowed to purchase Christians."⁷⁹ Thus the color line, not religion, was now the line of demarcation between the three racial groups.

[T]he long experience of enslaving nonwhites had a broadly similar impact on the genesis of white racial attitudes....More than any other single factor, it established a presumption that whites were naturally masters and members of a privileged group while nonwhites were meant to be their servants and social inferiors.⁸⁰

Through this experience of enslaving others, Euro-Americans assumed their culture was naturally superior to others.

By the end of the seventeenth century, the racial trajectory was set in motion for enslaving Africans and using violence to take away land from Native Americans. Once this pattern of racial discrimination and oppression

⁷⁸ Forrest Wood, 36.

⁷⁹ Takaki, Different Mirror, 59.

⁸⁰ Fredrickson, White Supremacy, 92-93.

was established, it would then target newer immigrant groups such as Chinese Americans.

CHAPTER 2

Race and Religious Education: Theory and Practice

Although race has been and continues to be a critical issue, the theory and practice of Christian religious education has ignored this historical problem. In its history, the religious education movement has had a blind spot concerning the pivotal importance of race in the United States. Yet this neglect of race reflects education in general as seen in the editorials of the Harvard Educational Review between 1985 and 1988.

Horace Bushnell, in his Christian Nurture, advocated that the Anglo-Saxons would triumph over weaker races. This was due to their inbred piety and virtues that would be passed on to the next generation. Bushnell's view would be used by Christian racists in the nineteenth century.

On the other hand, publications for Sunday School teachers in mainline denominations between 1933 and 1941 did confront racism. They taught that racism was incompatible with Christianity, the causes of prejudice, and how to correct prejudicial feelings. Yet tacit racism can be detected in some of these Sunday School publications.

Thomas Groome, John Westerhoff, C. Ellis Nelson, Donald Miller, and Mary Boys are major figures in contemporary religious education. Yet in their theories, they either omit race or only briefly mention racism as an illustration.

Ethnic issues were addressed in a report of the 1985

Ethnic issues were addressed in a report of the 1985 consultation of the Scarritt Graduate School published as Ethnicity in the Education of the Church. The historical dimensions of racism were described in the context of black religious education. Yet racism in the United States was hardly mentioned by either the Hispanic, Asian American, and Anglo participants.

Thus this survey will show that the socio-historical dimensions of race and racism have not been systematically analyzed in these publications.

Race in the Harvard Educational Review

The theme of a 1985 editorial in the Harvard Educational Review was the pervasive effects of racial inequality despite attempts at desegregation.

[R]acism continues to undermine all attempts at integration. It is quieter now, embedded in our institutions, our class structure, and in the daily efforts of people and groups to protect what they have....our focus has to expand beyond schools to include the entire society.¹

In a very perceptive observation, the editors noted that one of the barriers to integration was the privileged positions of whites.

We must question white entitlement--the sense of belonging and deserving certain advantages in life--as closely as we question the confinement of many minorities in certain social strata and ways of thinking....we also need to worry about how

¹ Editorial, Harvard Educational Review 55 (May 1985): v.

embedded many whites are in privilege, images of superiority....Nothing will budge unless some of this entitlement is relinquished....²

In light of this need for integration in schools and society, the editors asked for contributions to a future issue on race and education. From their experience, they have noted:

Many manuscripts we receive have the opportunity to include issues of racial inequality but fail to do so. In the few cases where such issues are mentioned, they are quickly factored out of the discussion. We are often asked to believe that these issues no longer exist or that no solutions can be found.³

There was a follow up to this statement in a 1987 editorial:

Two years (and 600 manuscripts later) the situation had not changed. The reasons are simple: racism and race are not "hot" or "current" academic topics; and the Review seems unable to attract those authors who life experience and knowledge make them acutely aware of the importance of race in this country.⁴

As a result of finding "the reluctance of academia to acknowledge the importance of race in our lives"⁵ and the lack of journal articles written by minority authors, the Review decided to publish a special issue to race and education. Representatives from minority groups were asked to submit articles for this special issue so that their

² Ibid., vii.

³ Ibid., viii.

⁴ Editorial, Harvard Educational Review 57 (1987): vii-viii.

⁵ Ibid., viii.

voices can be heard.

This issue, "Race, Racism, and American Education: Perspectives of Asian Americans, Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans," appeared in August 1988. In its introduction, the Review observed that the United States has

constructed a contemporary social mythology that relegates race and racism to the morgue: acknowledging their existence in the nation's history, but firmly declaring that the overall social significance and influence of race and racism are dead.⁶

It is from this mistaken belief that racism is dead that the ideas of reverse discrimination and affirmative discrimination have emerged according to the authors of this introduction.

Educators have fallen prey to this social mythology of avoiding race by their use of the term "students at-risk." This can be used as a codeword for those who are minorities, poor, and who are non-English speakers. According to educators, the reasons for their lack of success in school is because of the "at-risk" student's families, communities, and their lack of abilities and skills. "This way of conceptualizing the educational status of minority students implies that the subjects cause their own conditions."⁷ This can be seen as another form of the "blame the victim" syndrome because racism is factored out as a reason why

⁶ Introduction [Advisory Board], Harvard Educational Review 58 (1988): v.

⁷ Ibid., vi.

these "students at-risk" fail.

Horace Bushnell

Horace Bushnell's influential book, Christian Nurture, included a chapter on "The Out-Populating Power of the Christian Stock." His discussion was "to become an important source for Christian racists and imperialists of the late nineteenth century."⁸ For example, the noted theologian, Josiah Strong, quoted Bushnell at length in his book Our Country concerning how the advanced Anglo-Saxons would triumph and out-live inferior races.⁹ How could Bushnell be used in this way?

For Bushnell, there were two ways by which the kingdom of God was extended: by conversion and by "the populating force of faith and piety themselves."¹⁰ Through this natural process, the godly seed will increase and dominate the world so that the gospel will become universal.

Godly parents sanctify their children by nurturing their faith through infant baptism and infant church membership. Successive generations of Christian nurture can "more completely inbred piety."¹¹ These spiritual

⁸ George M. Fredrickson, The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914 (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 156.

⁹ See Fredrickson, Black Image, 156-57, n. 53.

¹⁰ Horace Bushnell, Christian Nurture (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1888), 165.

¹¹ Bushnell, 172.

tendencies become inbred qualities which results in a race that "will be so thoroughly regenerated as to have a genuinely populating power in faith and godliness."¹²

According to Bushnell, there is a fixed law of nature by which acquired habits such as intellect, virtue, industry, law, and faith become biologically inbred characteristics that are passed on to the next generation. These traits determine the populating power and capacity of a race. Thus a civilized race has a heredity of good qualities while a "race of slaves becomes a physiologically servile race."¹³ In addition, Bushnell states: "Any people that is physiologically advanced in culture....is sure to live down and finally live out its inferior. Nothing can save the inferior race but a ready and pliant assimilation."¹⁴

Bushnell uses the example of the fruitful power of Abraham's descendants in Egypt and in Babylon. The Abrahamic covenant will be fulfilled when his godly seed, including Gentile converts, will fill the world. Bushnell shows the superior populating force of Christianity because of the Puritans and the advanced race of the Saxons which

stands among the feeblers, wilder races, like the Aborigines of our continent; having so much power of every kind that it puts them in shadow, weakens

¹² Bushnell, 173.

¹³ Bushnell, 172.

¹⁴ Bushnell, 175.

them, lives them down, rolling its over-populating tides across them, and sweeping them away, as by a kind of doom. Just so there is, in the Christian church, a grand law of increase by which it is rolling out and spreading over the world. Whether the feebleness and more abject races are going to be regenerated and raised up, is already very much of a question. What if it should be God's plan to people the world with better and finer material.¹⁵

The power of the church in Christian nations will inevitably bury these weaker races forever through population growth and conversion. "It is for God to say what races are to be finally submerged and lost, and not for us."¹⁶

The races that would lose this struggle would be Indians and blacks. Bushnell, in a sermon "as early as 1839...had predicted that the black race would not survive emancipation because it would then be placed in direct competition with whites."¹⁷ The vices of blacks could "penetrate the whole stock, and begin to hurry them off, in a process of premature extinction; as we know to be the case with another barbarous people, [the Indians] now fast yielding to the infection of death."¹⁸

Later, in an 1860 sermon, Bushnell envisioned blacks disappearing in the struggle for survival as Northern whites

¹⁵ Bushnell, 180.

¹⁶ Bushnell, 181

¹⁷ Fredrickson, Black Image, 155.

¹⁸ Horace Bushnell, A Discourse on the Slavery Question, Delivered in the North Church, Hartford, Conn., January 10, 1839 (Hartford, 1839), 12 quoted in Fredrickson, Black Image, 155.

came to the South. Superior races such as whites will always outlive inferior races such as blacks.

And indeed, since we must all die, why should it grieve us, that a stock thousands of years behind, in the scale of culture, should die with few and still fewer children to succeed, till finally the whole succession remains in the more cultivated race?¹⁹

Bushnell does not explicitly equate the godly seed with Anglo-Saxons, but it is clear that the colonialism of the "Christian nations" will result in the disappearing of the "weaker races." Although it is up to God to determine which race will survive, there is no doubt in Bushnell's mind whom this race will be. His Christianized Social Darwinism explained why Western Christian nations triumphed over the weaker non-white races in spreading the kingdom of God. Does this imply the superiority of the white race? According to Fredrickson's conclusion:

An inherited capacity for Christian civilization therefore guaranteed the survival of the white race, and the lack of it condemned the Negro to extinction. American racism and American Christianity had at last been thoroughly reconciled.²⁰

What Bushnell fails to mention is that this divine process was accomplished through the naked power of Western imperialism. The means for Christianizing the world was through military force. The Chinese described this process

¹⁹ Horace Bushnell, The Census and Slavery (Hartford, 1860), 12 quoted in Fredrickson, Black Image, 156.

²⁰ Fredrickson, Black Image, 156.

as: first the gunboats (often carrying opium) and then the missionaries. Bushnell's cultural limitations could not transcend equating the kingdom of God with the "Christian nations" of the West.

Racism in Sunday School Teacher Magazines

In the book, War, Depression, Prohibition, and Racism: The Response of the Sunday School to an Era of Crisis, 1933-1941, Kent Johnson demonstrated that racism was not a taboo subject in denominational teacher magazines. He examined four denominational magazines which contained the basic outlines for the International Uniform Bible texts. The treatment of racism can be categorized as follows: (1) how racism was incompatible with Christianity, (2) the causes of prejudice, (3) how to correct prejudicial feelings, and yet how (4) tacit racism could also be detected in these magazines.²¹

Racism as Incompatible with Christianity

Racism was clearly condemned as contrary to the spirit of Christianity. Both the Augsburg Teacher of the United Lutheran Church in America and the Westminster Teacher of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. acknowledged that the church was guilty of racism. For example, in the May 1937 issue of

²¹ Kent L. Johnson, War, Depression, Prohibition, and Racism: The Response of the Sunday School to an Era of Crisis, 1933-1941 (Lanham, Md.: Univ. Press of America, 1992). According to Johnson, the four denominations were the United Lutheran Church in America, the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., the Disciples of Christ, and the Southern Baptist Convention (p. 6).

the Westminster Teacher, "one writer was so adamant on the point that he wanted to make support for the cause against racism a condition for church membership."²² The Westminster Teacher also warned that the practice of racism denied that God loved everyone equally since it contradicted the gospel and the church's mission.

The Augsburg Teacher had more than fifty lessons on racism and prejudice between 1933-1941. According to Johnson, it "seldom missed an opportunity to drive home the absolute inconsistency between the life and teachings of Jesus and the practice of racism."²³ The Augsburg Teacher (May 1941) admitted that "the church lived with prejudice, that they were guilty of prejudice and that all teachers in the Sunday school had to come to grips with their own attitudes before they could attempt to help others (p. 307)."²⁴

This same sentiment was also found in the Bethany Adult Bible Teacher (Oct. 1938) of the Disciples of Christ. "Disciples were told that it was impossible to believe in one God and at the same time practice discrimination against any other class or race of human beings (p. 12)."²⁵ Yet the Bethany Teacher (May 1941) accused the church of living

²² Kent Johnson, 183.

²³ Kent Johnson, 188.

²⁴ Kent Johnson, 188.

²⁵ See Kent Johnson, 207.

with this contradiction all the time. For example, when a California church refused to accept a Chinese merchant as a member, one writer in 1941 wondered in despair why Christian people do such things (p. 34).²⁶

In a prophetic spirit, the Bethany Teacher as early as Nov. 1934 was "sensitive to the racial slur aimed at the Japanese in America's immigration laws, and they feared the growing enmity between the two nations" (p. 209).²⁷ To counter anti-Japanese sentiment as a result of Japan's invasion of China, the well-known Christian, Toyohiko Kagawa, was used to show that not all the Japanese supported this act of aggression.²⁸

However, in terms of solving the problem of prejudice, Kent Johnson notes that the Bethany Teacher "hoped that somehow through the efforts of the church, humankind would come to a kind of spiritual maturity which made prejudice a relic of the past."²⁹

The Teacher of the Southern Baptist Convention, to its credit, confronted Southern racism and emphasized "that racism was an absolute contradiction to faith in Jesus Christ and the gospel; and, that one of primary aims of the

²⁶ See Kent Johnson, 209.

²⁷ See Kent Johnson, 209.

²⁸ Bethany Teacher, Oct. 1938, 10 quoted in Kent Johnson.

²⁹ Kent Johnson, 208.

Sunday school was to overcome it in all its forms."³⁰ The apostle Phillip was an example of crossing racial lines when he baptized the Ethiopian eunuch. The message was clear: "if Jesus was not the savior of all races and colors, he was the savior of none."³¹

The Teacher (July 1937) also raised the important issue of racial justice, noting that prejudice and racism was abhorrent in the eyes of God.

No less than Israel in Egypt, people of color in America were demanding justice. No less than God would hear and respond to their cry. Unless white America responded, the wrath of God would come upon the nation just as it had upon Pharaoh (p. 17).³²

Thus all four of these denominational Sunday School teacher magazines held very clear positions against racism as being contrary to Christianity. If the church was guilty of racism, this denied the gospel's message that Jesus was the savior of all races.

The causes of prejudice. Reasons for prejudice were varied and these denominational teacher magazines mentioned several of them. According to the Augsburg Teacher:

Prejudice usually results from a false view of superiority. We rationalize our possessions, gifts, and standing in the world as being the best. Fear and jealousy enter into prejudice. Economic factors also are a deciding factor.... The causes of racial and national prejudice can be

³⁰ Kent Johnson, 230.

³¹ The Teacher, 1936, 24 quoted in Kent Johnson, 233.

³² See Kent Johnson, 233.

reduced to a lack of understanding, lack of sympathy, traditional attitudes of home and groups, childhood experiences, and ignorance (p. 153).³³

According to Johnson, the Bethany Teacher of April 1938 challenged "white supremacy, and to wonder where it can from. Writers were convinced that over the course of history the colored races had been dominant over the white race, though they didn't describe what they meant by it" (p. 9).³⁴ Likewise, Southern Baptists were told, according to Johnson, that white feelings of superiority were not based upon fact. "What whites thought they saw as inferiority in people of color was the result of limited educational, religious and financial opportunities."³⁵

Although the Bethany Teacher had less to say about the causes of prejudice, its aim was to eliminate prejudice according to Johnson. "If prejudice could be taught, then it could be untaught, or better yet, the church could teach in such a way that prejudice was eliminated altogether."³⁶

The Westminster Teacher acknowledged that the children of foreign-born immigrants would likely face discrimination in churches which "tended to deny access to congregational

³³ See Kent Johnson, 189.

³⁴ See Kent Johnson, 211.

³⁵ Kent Johnson, 232.

³⁶ Kent Johnson, 208.

life to Japanese, Chinese and African Christians" (p. 153).³⁷ It commended the prophetic action of the 1936 Presbyterian General Assembly which asked Congress to repeal the anti-Japanese Exclusion Act because it "had created ill-will in Japan and was not worthy of Americans" (p. 300).³⁸

Yet the deeper cause of prejudice, systematic racism, was omitted. Throughout American history, structural barriers were raised that prevented people of color from having equal opportunities with whites.

Correcting prejudicial feelings. This practical issue was discussed in two of these Sunday School teacher magazines. In several issues of the Westminster Teacher, the practical issue about dealing with prejudice was raised. For example, students were asked to discuss this question: "If God had cared for these people, he would not have made them black."³⁹ The Westminster Teacher made it clear that students who agreed with this statement had the nonsensical notion that God was also prejudiced against blacks.

The Westminster Teacher also challenged teachers to be aware of their own prejudices so they can help their students. Teachers "could expect that most people didn't welcome having their prejudices revealed. They would, as sensible people, be open to the discussion of the prejudices

³⁷ See Kent Johnson, 191.

³⁸ See Kent Johnson, 221.

³⁹ May 1940, 364 quoted in Kent Johnson, 224.

of others, but would guard their own."⁴⁰ This was the heart of the problem: "Even the best among us must plead guilty to having some race or class prejudice which makes us feel we are just a little better than our brown-skinned neighbors."⁴¹

In the Augsburg Teacher, writers were confident that the best way to overcome prejudice and stereotypes was through developing friendships with foreigners. Churches were encouraged to preserve the rights of minority groups and to acknowledge their accomplishments. The lynching practices of the Ku Klux Klan were condemned as violating Christian ideals.

Yet in correcting prejudicial feelings, these magazines did not go beyond being aware of one's prejudices and being friends with foreigners. While clearly condemning prejudice as being anti-Christian, these publications for Sunday School teachers only addressed this complex phenomenon superficially.

Tacit racism. Despite the clear call against racism, contradictory statements were made by these denominational magazines. For example, a 1940 issue of the Augsburg Teacher seems, on the surface, to show the need to respect "colored people."

⁴⁰ May 1941, 35 quoted in Kent Johnson, 219.

⁴¹ Feb. 1940, 52 quoted in Kent Johnson, 219.

We should not show utter disrespect for the colored people who may chance be in our midst. If they lack culture and standing, it is not altogether their fault. There is a reason for it, but they have their rights and the lesson we are studying today should encourage us to respect those rights.⁴²

The statement: "If they lack culture and standing, it is not altogether their fault" assumes that black culture is insufficient and lacking which implies the superiority of white culture. It also implies that "colored people" are to some degree, at fault for being unrefined and uncultured.

In a 1938 issue of the Augsburg Teacher, there were reservations about intermarriage and racial equality.

Before Jesus all races have the same level, for all are sinners needing his salvation. How far this is to lead us toward racial equality, even to the intermarriage of races, must remain an argued question. Segregation was seen as practical not without cause. Here are issues not to be forced. It is easy enough in a meeting to pass resolutions, but it is not easy to live up to resolutions.⁴³

While Jesus died for all people, this does not mean equality in terms of intermarriage. Thus a biblical position of equality was twisted to support inequality in terms of choosing marriage partners of another race. Resolutions about integration were indeed difficult to live by.

Writers of the Westminster Teacher also questioned integration even though they advocated racial justice. In a 1940 article, one writer argued for equal educational

⁴² April 1940, 215 quoted in Kent Johnson, 193.

⁴³ June 1938, 358 quoted in Kent Johnson, 193.

opportunities even though one cannot force the races to socialize together.⁴⁴ Does this suggest the possibility of racial equality without integration?

Despite its outcry against racism, The Teacher omitted references to lynching, integration, and intermarriage. According to Johnson, the Ku Klux Klan was mentioned only once while segregation was taken for granted by Southern Baptists. Perhaps this omission of the Ku Klux Klan was because it may have been so ingrained within Southern culture that it would have been impossible to condemn this racist organization.

The Teacher was the only magazine that treated foreigners negatively. According to Johnson, this was because immigrants tended to form gangs in the cities and who resisted assimilation. Thus their moral and spiritual destitution posed a great threat to the church.⁴⁵

In conclusion, writers in these denominational teacher magazines spoke out clearly against racism. These statements can even be seen as prophetic in teaching that prejudice was totally incompatible with Christianity. Yet the writers of these denominational teacher magazines approached racism from an individual perspective. Prejudice could be unlearned if Christians had friendships with people of color and viewed them as equal before God. What was

⁴⁴ Feb. 1940, 53 quoted in Kent Johnson, 221.

⁴⁵ April 1938, 2 quoted in Kent Johnson, 230.

omitted was a discussion of the institutionalization of racism and the recognition that prejudice was only symptomatic of a society in which racism was historically embedded in its very structures.

Race in Contemporary Religious Educational Theories

Racial issues have not been a major emphasis in recent religious education theories. Major textbooks either omit it or briefly mention race or ethnicity as examples or illustrations. The socio-historical dimensions of race and racism are lacking in the major introductory works in religious education. This lack of emphasis can implicitly give the impression that the intended audience for these books is Euro-Americans.

The inclusion of racial and ethnic issues would provide a fuller context for Christian religious education. An understanding of the unjust experiences suffered by people of color would enrich the religious educators' understanding of justice and liberation. Euro-American theorists in this category include Thomas Groome, John Westerhoff, C. Ellis Nelson, Donald Miller, and Mary Boys.

In Thomas Groome's Christian Religious Education, his chapter on human freedom concludes by stating: "our educational activity must be designed to foster greater degrees of Christian critical consciousness so that our people may respond to the demands of the Kingdom in their

own personal, social, and political contexts."⁴⁶

Groome's conclusion would have been deepened by an analysis of the experiences of the African American church. The context of slavery from which the black church has emerged and the continuing legacy of racism would aid the development of a "Christian critical consciousness."

In Groome's recent book, Sharing Faith, he discusses the church's ministry of peace and justice in chapter 13.⁴⁷ It only mentions racism as one form of social discrimination along with sexism and ageism. A more in-depth treatment of Christian justice could include how the institutional church has had a long history of racial (and sexual) injustice.

In his book, Will Our Children Have Faith?, John Westerhoff forcibly states:

We face no greater evil in society than racism, to which every institution, the church included, continues to contribute. The educational ministry of the church must help us to understand how we participate in this injustice and then equip and motivate us to effect change in the institutions of which we are a part.⁴⁸

While he does not elaborate further, Westerhoff does refer to the pervasiveness of racism which infects all

⁴⁶ Thomas H. Groome, Christian Religious Education: Sharing Our Story and Vision (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1980), 99.

⁴⁷ Thomas H. Groome, Sharing Faith: A Comprehensive Approach to Religious Education and Pastoral Ministry (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1991), 402.

⁴⁸ John H. Westerhoff, Will Our Children Have Faith? (New York: Seabury Press, 1976), 67.

institutions. Thus could racism be a negative example of how his model of socialization or enculturation could work in spreading prejudice? Racism could be an example of how well this process works since our society socializes us to be very conscious of skin color. Although beyond the intended scope of his book, a further discussion about the history of racism in the United States would have strengthened Westerhoff's point that racism is the greatest evil in our society. This would include the church's participation in this dehumanizing process which has socialized people to judge others by their skin color.

Groome has critiqued Westerhoff on his socialization model: "Far from socializing our students more effectively, our educational task will often require that we call into question and counteract much of the socialization that is already taking place."⁴⁹ This is the precisely the point: since all of us have been socialized too well by a racist society, what steps can be taken to overcome our enculturation into racism? Westerhoff's model of enculturation is thus inadequate for combating racism since patterns of racism pervades the church as in all other institutions. While it would be an impossible task to be completely unsocialized from racist attitudes, efforts toward intentional anti-racist education must be made in order to help develop a Christian community that resists

⁴⁹ Groome, Christian Religious Education, 122.

enculturated racist attitudes and behavior. Westerhoff's hope is that the church is "called by God, not to be a community of cultural continuity in support of the status quo but a countercultural community of social change."⁵⁰

Along with Groome and Westerhoff, other religious educators briefly mention racial issues. C. Ellis Nelson's Where Faith Begins discusses the formative power of culture in chapter 2 in which social groups teach and pass down their beliefs to the next generation.⁵¹ Nelson illustrates this by the following:

The fact that no race is naturally inferior to another is not accepted by millions of people in many countries of the world because they were carefully taught by their social group that certain races are inferior.⁵²

Despite being written during the Civil Rights Movement, Nelson does not apply this to the United States where the cultural superiority of whites underlies assimilation and melting pot theories. However, he does mention that "one of the tragedies of the racial conflict in America is the knowledge that many Negroes have internalized the value of their self that white people assigned them."⁵³ Why this takes place, which is due to the legacy of slavery and

⁵⁰ Westerhoff, 66.

⁵¹ C. Ellis Nelson, Where Faith Begins (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1967).

⁵² C. Ellis Nelson, 64.

⁵³ C. Ellis Nelson, 65.

institutional racism, is omitted.

Outside of these two references, Nelson does not include race or ethnicity to his theory of culture. This omission ignores the multicultural dimension to our United States culture and the contributions of people of color to its history.

Donald Miller's Story and Context⁵⁴ briefly touched upon racial issues as in chapter 1.

Religious teaching often has a dramatic effect upon public issues. Without doubt, the teaching of churches affected people's attitudes about slavery in the nineteenth century. Often churches upheld slavery, but some also initiated the call to free the slaves. In the same way, black churches were a center of the civil rights movement in the 1960s.⁵⁵

Miller's use of these illustrations in his "ecology of education" could have been enhanced by considering how the trajectory of slavery continues today in patterns of racism.

In chapter 3, Miller mentions how "Latins, Asians, and blacks generally have low status in the United States.... [and are] greatly underrepresented in the job market"⁵⁶ Yet he does not explain why this phenomenon occurs and does not acknowledge the barrier of institutionalized racism that faces people of color in the marketplace.

⁵⁴ Donald E. Miller, Story and Context (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1987).

⁵⁵ Donald Miller, 32.

⁵⁶ Donald Miller, 87.

In Mary Boys' Educating in Faith,⁵⁷ she discusses future movements on the horizon in chapter 7. She cites examples such as epistemology, feminism, the social sciences, and the public role of the church. In this last example, Boys urges religious educators to join community agencies who are combating racial hatred and she urges congregations to

form their members in the "transformative imagination" by evoking, for example, the root metaphor of covenant: those bound to God in covenant are bonded to their brothers and sisters as well.⁵⁸

Boys also cites the efforts by the National Conference of Christians and Jews to counteract racism through a workshop for fair housing, a video, and an elementary school curriculum to counter prejudice.

Yet Boys' discussion would have been deepened by understanding the historical roots of racism and the asymmetrical power relationships that creates the conditions for racial hatred. Multicultural religious education would be another step towards alleviating racial hostility, yet this is not mentioned as a future movement on the horizon for Boys.

The book that most addresses the issue of racism is a report of the 1985 consultation of the Scarritt Graduate

⁵⁷ Mary C. Boys, Educating in Faith: Maps and Visions (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1989).

⁵⁸ Boys, 181.

School published as Ethnicity in the Education of the Church.⁵⁹ It explored religious education within the ethnic church and how this diversity of educational styles could broaden the theory and practice of religious education.

Grant Shockley's paper and Jack Seymour's response most directly addressed the issue of racism. Shockley gave some historical foundations to the black religious educational experience. For example, the (white) Sunday school movement during the time of slavery had only a token and a racist interest in reaching out to blacks.

Some white patrons of Sunday schools were concerned that slaves might learn more than the restricted and innocuous biblical material requisitioned for them by slaveholders. Consequently the Bible was literally taken apart and put back together again to phase out or rephrase any passage with "freedom" implications.⁶⁰

The conclusion to this historical section was: "Black church education has consequently been shaped significantly by patterns of white racism and white ethnic dominance."⁶¹

In addition, Shockley lists twenty negative socio-cultural influences on blacks due to the racism.⁶² In this

⁵⁹ Charles R. Foster, ed., Ethnicity in the Education of the Church (Nashville: Scarritt Press, 1987).

⁶⁰ Grant S. Shockley, "Christian Education and the Black Religious Experience," in Ethnicity in the Education of the Church, ed. Charles R. Foster (Nashville: Scarritt Press, 1987), 32.

⁶¹ Shockley, 33.

⁶² Shockley, 33-34.

racist context, where being black is considered inferior in a white dominated society results in what W. E. B. DeBois called "twoness." Yet blacks have

demonstrated the capacity to hold these two estimations in tension, selecting what was necessary to survive as persons from the white-Christian model that was presented to them in a perverted fashion and rejecting the concepts of white Christians which sought to destroy their every vestige of self-worth and respect.⁶³

White churches must deal with their prejudice if they want to utilize the black experience in their Christian education.

Although racism was not Shockley's focus, it formed an important context for his treatment of the black religious experience. In addition, Virgilio Elizondo described the violence inflicted on Mexican Americans in their history by Euro-Americans and the presence of a "new racism in our country."⁶⁴ Dave Ng briefly alluded to the oppressive laws passed against the "heathen Chinees" in his article on Pacific Asian Americans.⁶⁵

In his response to Shockley, Jack Seymour asked if the use of ethnicity was a way to avoid the harsher word,

⁶³ Shockley, 38.

⁶⁴ Virgilio Elizondo, "The Mexican American Religious Education Experience," in Ethnicity in the Education of the Church, ed. Charles R. Foster (Nashville: Scarritt Press, 1987), 89.

⁶⁵ Dave Ng, "Sojourners Bearing Gifts: Pacific Asian American Christian Education," in Ethnicity in the Education of the Church, ed. Charles R. Foster (Nashville: Scarritt Press, 1987), esp. p. 9.

racism: "Are we examining the educational strategies of 'ethnic' groups, or are we examining the effects of racism?"⁶⁶ For Seymour, the issue was not ethnicity but racism. Christian education "must directly engage dominant cultural patterns that are psychologically and institutionally racist."⁶⁷ An important conclusion of Seymour was: "Black educational strategies had to emerge in the midst of racism. Is this not also true for Asians, Native Americans, and Hispanics? The issue therefore, is not ethnicity. It is racism!"⁶⁸

This was a key insight by Seymour because he was referring to the racism within the church and other institutions that all people of color encounter. It was unfortunate that this issue was not directly addressed as institutionalized racism continues to act as a subtle, but pervasive barrier in a color-conscious society. However, this common experience of racism brought up by Shockley and Seymour was not mentioned in the consultation's agenda for the future of religious education.⁶⁹ Although this

⁶⁶ Jack L. Seymour, "Response," in Ethnicity in the Education of the Church, ed. Charles R. Foster (Nashville, Scarritt Press, 1987), 49.

⁶⁷ Jack Seymour, 49.

⁶⁸ Jack Seymour, 49-50.

⁶⁹ The agenda was: (1) developing a vocabulary affirming cultural diversity as a gift of God; (2) discovering new images for the church's education to guide its efforts; and (3) identifying the structures and strategies that make up the instrumentalities for religious

Scarritt consultation gave substantial attention to racial matters, an analysis of race and racism by religious educators still remains to be done.

learning indigenous to various ethnic and cultural communities while encouraging at the same time, the interplay of the educational contributions from the church's cultural diversity in building up the whole body of Christ's people. See Charles R. Foster, "An Agenda for a Multicultural Christian Religious Education," in Ethnicity in the Education of the Church, ed. Charles R. Foster (Nashville: Scarritt Press, 1987), 96.

CHAPTER 3

Race and Religious Education:

The Journey of a Journal

The Religious Education Association was heavily influenced by George Albert Coe's social vision of the "democracy of God." Yet racial-ethnic minorities were outside of the REA's early democratic fellowship since a racial democracy was not envisioned.

From the beginning, the REA journal, Religious Education, reflects an uneven treatment of people of color. The range is from articles that barely concealed white paternalism towards African Americans to entire issues being devoted toward race relations.

In surveying all the issues of Religious Education from 1906 to 1994, several trends are discernable. First, of the 124 articles that dealt with racial-ethnic groups, over half (69 articles) were specifically about African Americans. Seven articles were about Native Americans and three articles were devoted to each of the following groups: Latinos, Japanese Americans, and Chinese Americans. Secondly, six articles about these groups were concentrated in one issue, February 1931! Thus, aside from African Americans, these other racial-ethnic groups were almost invisible in the pages of Religious Education. Thirdly, with the exception of articles in the 1960s, most articles focused on how individual friendships would solve the

problem of segregation and racism. Little attention was given to the larger context of institutionalized racism in the United States. Fourthly, many of these articles were concentrated in eight issues that were devoted to racial themes. They were:

1. February 1931: Race Relations
2. March-April 1944: Community Tensions and Intercultural Education: A Symposium
3. May-June 1945: Religion and Race in Education: A Symposium
4. January-February 1964: Race Relations and Religious Education
5. September-October 1969: Preconvention Issue
[Religious Education--A Creative Force in a Divided Society]
6. March-April 1970: The Convention Issue: National Convention Reports
7. Spring 1992: Multicultural Religious Education
8. Summer 1993: APRRE: Ethnicity and Gender Issues in Multicultural Religious Education

These eight issues are representative of the period of years in which no articles about racial-ethnic groups appeared in Religious Education.

Overall, the articles in Religious Education can be grouped in five chronological periods. These periods generally follow African American history since the majority of articles dealt with them.

1. Black or White? 1909-1931
2. The Breakthrough Issue: February 1931
3. Integration through Friendships: 1931-1960

4. Civil Rights Era: 1963-1978

5. From Civil Rights to Multiculturalism: 1979-1994

Black or White?

This first thematic period covers eleven articles that appeared between 1909 and 1928 and reveals the gulf that separated white and black perspectives. Yet it must be noted that Religious Education published articles by black authors during this early period; otherwise this contrast would not have appeared. One article was by the noted black sociologist, E. Franklin Frazier, two articles were by the president of Howard University, and one author was from Tuskegee Institute. With one exception, the white authors also had an academic background and held positions in college.

The first example of these contrasting perspectives was the subject of interracial relationships. The first article about African Americans appeared in 1909, "Religious Education and Racial Adjustment," and was written by the president of the University of South Carolina. Samuel Mitchell addressed the Negro race in terms of rearing a child.

[A]nd now the beginning of the long, slow process of training him for the duties of citizenship in a democracy. Is the negro a sick man or a child? At one time some were wont to regard him merely as a sick man whose disease would yield to the swift stroke of a surgeon's knife. But the fallacy of that view is now patent. If he is a child, training is the only treatment needed....How can

you best rear a race?¹

Mitchell acknowledged the need for basic Negro education: "Moral efficiency is the negro's chief need. We must recognize that to these lowly people life is of more concern than either politics or social identity with the Saxon."² Mitchell firmly believed that through education and training, the "negro race can advance in character and social efficiency."³ He thought that such education was needed after the Civil War because when democracy "was made to include the millions of negroes in the South, it broke down. Universal negro suffrage was a failure."⁴ It was clear that it was the Negroes who needed remedial education and who needed to adjust, not whites. Yet ironically, it was the author's hope that religious education with its purposeful moral energy can be "an agency that can guarantee sympathy to offset prejudice."⁵ With his thinly disguised paternalism, ethnocentrism, and belief in the superiority of the white race, this seemed like a forlorn hope.

Bruno Lasker's article "Inter-Racial Contacts" was more moderate in tone. Lasker was the secretary of the

¹ Samuel C. Mitchell, "Religious Education and Racial Adjustment," Religious Education 4 (1909): 317.

² Samuel Mitchell, 319.

³ Samuel Mitchell, 319.

⁴ Samuel Mitchell, 322.

⁵ Samuel Mitchell, 321.

Commission on Race Relations of the Inquiry concerning the Christian Way of Life. He discussed the problem of racial friction, stating that

in almost every case the factor of racial difference is of secondary importance compared with that of some economic or cultural difference between the contesting groups....In many cases, two racial groups will attach no significance to group likenesses and unlikenesses until there arises a struggle for existence.⁶

Lasker gave examples of Negroes who migrated to northern cities in large numbers and the Chinese who came to California. The latter "were regarded and treated as individuals until they arrived in such numbers as to become a menace to western standards of living."⁷

In evaluating Lasker's analysis, racial tensions do increase when there are large numbers of minorities, but Lasker seemed to blame the victims of prejudice for causing this conflict.

In evaluating Lasker's analysis, racial differences does not seem to hold "secondary importance" as he assumed, nor can they be subordinated to "economic and cultural differences." The "struggle for existence" in the history of the United States has been racial as well as economic as revealed in chapter 2. Yet on the other hand, Lasker rightly advocated the need for

⁶ Bruno Lasker, "Inter-Racial Contacts," Religious Education 21 (1926): 527.

⁷ Lasker, 527.

community integration--an educational program that will use to the fullest extent what remains of the natural contacts between groups and will also introduce artificial contacts of such a character as to overcome incipient conflict.⁸

This was illustrated by a church in a changing neighborhood that invited Negroes into their community and developed friendships with them. But this was only the first step. Individual friendships with blacks were not to change the reality of institutionalized racism.

A second example of the gulf between white and black perspectives was the way the Negro Sunday School was viewed by whites and blacks. Wilbur Thirkield, the president of Howard University wrote a 1912 article, "Negro Sunday Schools." He made the following astute observation:

We face in America, not the problem of the Negro alone, but that of the races, black and white, yellow and brown. America is the crucible where seething races are being melted and fused as by fire. We are to determine whether Christian America shall be to them either the fires of God, purifying and redeeming, or the fires of hell, consuming and damning.⁹

Although the melting pot imagery would later be questioned, the "Negro problem" continues to be a problem for all people of color in America, that of institutionalized racism.

For Thirkield, the weakest part of the Negro church was the Sunday school and that the training of tens of thousands

⁸ Lasker, 528.

⁹ Wilbur P. Thirkield, "Negro Sunday Schools: A Plan for Constructive Sunday School Work Among the Colored People," Religious Education 7 (1912): 445.

of teachers was needed. Efforts were being made, and the example of W. N. Hartshorn who helped train Negro Sunday school teachers was cited. This work by Hartshorn for the International Sunday School Association was the subject of an unsigned article written in 1913.¹⁰ According to this report, about 400 students received diplomas in 1913 after finishing training in the theory and practice of Sunday school teaching.

In contrast, a 1927 article written by two education professors at the University of Kansas was based upon a survey of 5,000 children in Kansas City. From their data, they concluded that Negro children attended Sunday school at higher rates than white children because it was a means of escape from their inferior status as Negroes.

Negro children are doubtless aware of their lack of social position and prestige from very early ages. It would be strange, indeed, if the Negro's relative inferior status (social, intellectual, educational and economic) did not produce in him active impulse to extend his personality by seeking out diligently certain compensatory activities. It is possible, therefore, that church and Sunday school activities provide easily obtainable and intensely satisfying means of escape from the unmistakable evidences of inferior status which attend his daily contacts with white men. The relatively great frequency of church-

¹⁰ "Progress for Negro Sunday Schools," Religious Education 8 (1913): 283-84.

going among Negroes probably results from a greater need for compensatory behavior.¹¹

The inferior status of Negroes was assumed and why they were given this status was not included in their analysis.

Another conclusion was that attendance at Sunday school did not guarantee a higher morality for Negroes.

[M]ere attendance at church and Sunday school does not necessarily result in superior moral conduct. It is possible that the Negro, with his emotional nature, secures so much gratification from church activities in the form of "emotional glow" that he later feels no need for performing "good works."¹²

What was assumed in this conclusion was the Negro's "emotional nature." This stereotyped notion was the author's explanation why these children were not motivated to do "good works."

Despite questionable conclusions which were supported by graphs and charts, "no one within the REA establishment felt inclined or motivated to respond with corrective."¹³ The larger context of institutionalized racism as the reason for black feelings of inferiority and for their "compensatory behavior" was omitted.

Despite this difference of perspectives between black

¹¹ Harvey C. Lehman and Paul A. Witty, "Church and Sunday School Attendance of Negro Children," Religious Education 22 (1927): 53.

¹² Lehman and Witty, 53-54.

¹³ Stephen A. Schmidt, A History of the Religious Education Association (Birmingham: Religious Education Press, 1983), 92.

and white authors within its pages, Religious Education must be given credit for publishing articles by black authors during their first two decades of publication. Other articles written by black authors during this period were about the need for education for Negroes. G. Lake Imes, of the Tuskegee Institute, advocated that the black country preacher be given more practical education such as in agriculture and social service.¹⁴ On the other hand, Wilbur Thirkield, president of Howard University, wrote a second article which argued that blacks need a college education and not just elementary schooling and industrial training.¹⁵ In the tradition of W. E. B. Du Bois' "talented tenth," he felt that ten professional Negroes such as lawyers, doctors, and ministers were more beneficial than 10,000 average ones.

In addition to these contrasting black and white views on inter-racial relations and the Negro Sunday school, a theme about prejudice in children against people of color was the subject of two articles.

A 1921 article dealt with prejudices against foreign-born children. This insightful article was written by Joseph Artman, an associate professor of religious education

¹⁴ G. Lake Imes, "The Negro Minister and Country Life," Religious Education 7 (1912): 169-75.

¹⁵ Wilbur P. Thirkield, "The Higher Education of the Negro," Religious Education 6 (1911): 420-23.

at the University of Chicago.¹⁶ The causes of prejudice were described as social in nature since prejudice is an attitude that is learned at home and in society. Artman argued:

[R]ace prejudice is not inborn. Never a child of any race is born with hatred for those of other races. Hatred and prejudice are felt out, breathed, in the social atmosphere....Every race prejudice represents the sin, the small-mindedness, the selfishness of the family or immediate social group.¹⁷

Artman astutely observed that the church also had responsibility for developing prejudicial attitudes since

actual investigation proves that the majority of our church groups deal in patronage rather than sharing with foreigners and foreign-born in social endeavor....we are superior, they are inferior. They are objects of patronage, not possible equals....This patronage is the great sin of the church.¹⁸

In addition to this paternalistic attitude, the church was also guilty of encouraging class consciousness within its midst. Artman concluded that the way of Jesus does not have race nor class lines. This article was remarkable for its insights in 1921 and was a preview of Artman's racial sensitivity. He became the General Secretary of the REA from 1926 to 1935 during which the planning of the pivotal

¹⁶ Joseph M. Artman, "World Fellowship and Other Peoples: The Problem of Education for World Fellowship with Regard to Children of Foreign Nativity or Parentage," Religious Education 16 (1921): 195-98.

¹⁷ Artman, 197.

¹⁸ Artman, 197.

February 1931 issue of Religious Education took place.

"Race Attitudes of Children" was a tentative report in 1926 of the Committee on Race Attitudes in Children appointed by the Federal Council of Churches and written by Henry Busch, an instructor at Union Theological Seminary.¹⁹ This report reflected the majority view that racial prejudice was socially conditioned while a minority believed that it was instinctive. One general conclusion was a correlation between children's and adult's prejudices or the lack of them.

A survey of the 600 replies to their questionnaire revealed that the South was most antagonistic toward Negroes while the West Coast were most hostile towards the Japanese (the Chinese were omitted as a group). "Sections not immediately facing the problem of adjusting to actual groups of negroes or foreign born appear more hostile to these people than many other sections,"²⁰ such as the Middle West which had the most prejudicial replies. Although no reasons for this were given, it would indicate the pervasiveness of racial stereotyping from such sources as the mass media.

The most surprising result was that New York and

¹⁹ This questionnaire was developed by Bruno Lasker whose article "Inter-Racial Contacts" appeared in Religious Education 21 (1926): 527-35.

²⁰ Henry M. Busch, "Race Attitudes of Children: A Tentative Report of a Committee Appointed by the Commission on Christian Education of the Federal Council of Churches, and Delivered before the Commission," Religious Education 21 (1926): 279.

Chicago revealed almost a complete lack of prejudice. The reason given for this was that

possibly metropolitan children are more sophisticated and conceal prejudices more successfully in their replies while actually holding them as emotional attitudes. However, in the absence of tests of a more objective nature we are assuming that the answers to our questions reflect real attitudes.²¹

This was a major assumption and it should have raised some serious doubts about the validity of the questionnaire even though conclusions drawn from the questionnaire were tentative.

The last article and most unusual article in this first period stands in a class by itself because of its content and authorship. E. Franklin Frazier's article²² appeared in the May 1928 issue of Religious Education whose theme was "Religious Education and Family Controls."²³ Frazier was eminently qualified to write this article as he was an early black sociologist who did pioneering work in the history and development of the African American family. This was the basis for his 1931 doctoral dissertation at the University of Chicago where he was a student of Robert Park. His research culminated in his well-known book, The Negro Family in the United States, published in 1939.

²¹ Busch, 279.

²² E. Franklin Frazier, "Sex Morality among Negroes," Religious Education 23 (1928): 447-50.

²³ The editorial was "Education Must Save the Home," written by Joseph Artman.

In his article, Frazier placed Negro sexual morality within the context of slavery whose legacy resulted in black families being insecure and disorganized. He illustrated this with the stories of three families who migrated to northern cities. This included one free mulatto family who was privileged enough to have civil service and political jobs and could provide their children with a college education. When their children moved to the North, they achieved prominent positions and their children married into well established black families. According to Frazier, the "sex morality of this family has been for three generations the sex morality of the great American middle class."²⁴

In contrast, the other two families were not as privileged. The father of one family deserted his family and his daughter got married at sixteen. The son had to support his mother who found it difficult to find work and his sister. In the other family, the daughter lived with various relatives when her father died. She became pregnant and was indifferent about the child and its father.

Frazier concluded that the breakdown of these families was caused by the lack of social and community control that could have prevented sexual delinquency. "In the city where most primary group relations are dissolved, we find illegitimacy and sex delinquency as indices of this lack of

²⁴ Frazier, 450.

social control."²⁵ On the other hand, the mulatto family was able to have a stable life because it possessed economic privileges, status, and family traditions.

Stephen Schmidt interpreted Frazier's key argument to be

that sexual morality among Negroes is not a product of "sex instinct or African inheritance," but is a matter of "moral order," lack of family cohesion, and "breakdown of the intimacy of a family group."²⁶

He disagreed with the conclusion (although he does not mention Frazier's name) because it was not supported by data. Schmidt felt that there should have been some dissenting letters or "articles of defense of a more scientific position. Evidently the constituency and leadership saw no problem in the conclusions."²⁷

Schmidt is not fully clear regarding his critique of Frazier's conclusion nor does he describe what would have been a "more scientific position." Perhaps Schmidt felt that Frazier was blaming the black family for its breakdown and its lack of sexual constraints.

Frazier did focus on the disorganization of the black family in the context of slavery and urbanization. His stories of the two disorganized families demonstrated how supportive relationships within the family and the community

²⁵ Frazier, 450.

²⁶ Schmidt, 93.

²⁷ Schmidt, 93.

were broken by their migration from the South to northern cities. The mulatto family remained intact because of their economic and cultural advantages. Yet Frazier's article helped provide the broader historical and social context for understanding black sexual morality. According to Anthony Platt, writing in 1991:

Frazier was innovative in demonstrating that the problems of the black family were socially constructed rather than culturally inherited, that the disorganization of the family was created within and by Western civilization, not by the failure of Africans to live up to American standards.²⁸

Despite particular evaluations of Frazier's contribution, Religious Education must be given credit to have published Frazier's article in 1928 and, thus, to have participated in the dialogue.

The Breakthrough Issue: February 1931

The second thematic period for Religious Education was represented by one dramatic issue, that of February 1931. The first issue of Religious Education devoted to the theme of race relations had an editorial staff of Joseph M. Artman, O. D. Foster, and Albin C. Bro. Its vision was probably due to Artman who was appointed as the new general secretary of the Religious Education Association in 1926.

[George Albert] Coe referred to Artman as a "steam engine personality," and if the budget increases

²⁸ Anthony M. Platt, E. Franklin Frazier Reconsidered (New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1991), 139. It is interesting to note that Platt does not cite Frazier's 1928 article in Religious Education.

of the next few years were any indication of Artman's energy, Coe was certainly correct in his assessment. Artman's initial success was almost miraculous and filled with historical ironies. It was a period which paralleled [William Rainey] Harper's early visions and financial limits.²⁹

What was so visionary was that this issue was truly multicultural; it not only included four articles about African Americans, but it also had three articles about Native Americans, and one each on Mexican Americans, Chinese Americans, and Japanese Americans.

To appreciate fully this 1931 issue, it must be interpreted within its historical context. The pivotal historical event that took place less than a year and a half earlier was the Great Depression that began with the stock market crash in October 1929. This event would dominate both economic and religious life until the beginning of World War II. The historian Robert Handy labelled the period between 1925-1935 as the American religious depression. "Protestantism emerged no longer the national religion. The test of depression was a severe one; it laid bare certain weaknesses in American Protestantism."³⁰

This also was true of the religious education movement which reached its peak in the later 1920s and then sharply declined by the mid-1930s. For example, by 1935, the

²⁹ Schmidt, 88.

³⁰ Robert T. Handy, The American Religious Depression, 1925-1935, Facet Books, Historical Series, 9 (1960; reprint, Boston: Little, Brown, 1968), 21-22.

Religious Education Association faced financial ruin as it owed over \$14,000 to Joseph Artman who had "mortgaged his home and borrowed money on his insurance."³¹

In terms of race relations, this period was a time of intolerance. The Ku Klux Klan was revived and moved to the North and attacked Jews and Catholics as well as blacks. In 1930, a well-publicized anti-Filipino riot took place in Watsonville, California, in which a mob of 400 attacked a Filipino club.

During this same time, denominational journals debated over immigration restriction. The Immigration Act of 1924 almost stopped immigration and prohibited entry of aliens ineligible for citizenship such as the Japanese.³² This Act also reduced quotas for immigrants from southern and eastern Europe and sharply reduced Jewish immigration as well. When Calvin Coolidge signed this Act, he remarked, "America must be kept American."³³ These political events demonstrated racist attempts to define an American as Nordic, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant.

During this period of economic depression and racial intolerance, the February 1931 issue of Religious Education

³¹ Schmidt, 98.

³² "The Chinese and Asian Indian had already been excluded by other legislation." See Takaki, Strangers, 209.

³³ Martin E. Marty, Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984), 391.

was planned and published. According to Stephen Schmidt: "Those articles were serious efforts to purge bigotry and racism in religious education and generally reflected the best of the liberal tradition, calling for understanding and brotherhood."³⁴ No longer would there be overtly racist views expressed in articles like the first article about African Americans in 1909; however, racism appeared in subtler shades that was harder to detect. In many of the articles, both enlightened and prejudicial statements about the racial-ethnic groups could be discerned. The author's contradictory statements demonstrate that they were not yet completely free from racial bias.

For example, the editorial began with an astute observation: "But both American freedom and American hospitality seem to be restricted to one race--the American white race."³⁵ The editors also were perceptive to notice that: "The minority races are saying that the American pretense of culture, so evidently based upon race caste, while claiming to be religious in spirit, is really hypocritical and false to the American ideal."³⁶

These indeed were insightful critiques about the nature of racism. However, the editorial then tried to counter

³⁴ Schmidt, 95.

³⁵ "Race Relations," editorial, Religious Education 26 (1931): 99.

³⁶ "Race Relations," 99.

America's "race caste" by asking its readers

to look behind the skin color of a people and see the soul. What does it matter if a man's skin is black or red or yellow if the inner man is white? All of this people--Mexican, Indian, Negro, Japanese, Chinese--come into being, live and love and die as white people do. Often their culture in their homeland is superior to ours. So far scientific study has not proved that their brain is inferior to ours.³⁷

The subtlety of this editorial's racism can now be detected by its implicit measurement of non-whites by white standards. Skin color does not matter as long as if "the inner man is white" and if non-whites "live and love and die as white people do." Yet the editors concede that often their culture "in their homeland is superior to ours." Why would this same culture in the United States be considered inferior to white culture? And why is a comment added saying that "scientific study has not proved that their brain is inferior to ours?" Was the author making an implicit assumption regarding the biological inferiority of non-whites until science proved otherwise?

A further negative comment was: "Naturally the presence of these people have placed the American white people under economic stress, for they can work cheaply because they live more economically."³⁸ No consideration was given to possible reasons why "these people" could "work cheaply," thus causing "economic stress" for whites, no

³⁷ "Race Relations," 99.

³⁸ "Race Relations," 99.

awareness was indicated regarding the discriminatory two-wage economic system, for example. Such employment practices paid non-whites less while reserving better jobs and promotions for white workers.

Despite these weaknesses, the 1931 editorial acknowledged the importance of being responsible, respectful and hospitable to different races. This editorial added that it hoped the articles in this issue will help develop "the type of racial attitudes which our children must have if the problem of race relations is to be solved."³⁹

The contradictory nature of the editorial was also reflected in the ten articles devoted to the different racial-ethnic groups. Because of the diversity among these ten articles, a wide range of perspectives was expressed. Many of them mentioned the injustices that each group suffered. The difference between the perspectives of white and racial-ethnic writers was not as great as in the earlier period although they can be detected. The racial identity of some of these authors could not be determined, but identity can possibly be deduced by name or position. For example, "Handicaps of Race" by George M. Johnson (a lawyer from Berkeley) gave examples of how blacks were discriminated against at universities, high schools, and vocational schools. In addition, he showed how racism was institutionalized by citing examples of legalized housing

³⁹ "Race Relations," 100.

discrimination (covenants against non-Caucasians), segregated schools, and the Jim Crow laws. Johnson's conclusion is still relevant today. "The octopus-like incidents of race prejudice have become firmly embedded in the whole structure of American life."⁴⁰

Elizabeth Taylor Perry, the author of "Lacking on Common Courtesy" was a professor at Spelman College, so she may have been the first black woman to contribute to Religious Education.⁴¹ She cited her personal experiences of being discriminated against in her home and office, in business, and at white colleges and churches. She concluded:

I am profoundly convinced that the average white individual in America believes he is better than I am and no matter how hard he tries, in ways that he knows and knows not, his sense of superiority breaks out.⁴²

It seems evident that the negative conclusions of these two authors were based upon their experiences of both the personal and institutional dimensions of racism.

A different and more positive perspective about race relations appeared in two articles about the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, a large-scale Southern movement. According to R. B. Eleazer, "Its promoters believed that the

⁴⁰ George M. Johnson, "The Handicaps of Race," Religious Education 26 (1931): 129.

⁴¹ Elizabeth Taylor Perry, "Lacking in Common Courtesy," Religious Education 26 (1931): 130-31.

⁴² Perry, 131.

only road to interracial peace was mutual understanding"⁴³ and this was accomplished by correcting interracial justice and improving interracial attitudes. Through state and local committees, millions of dollars have been spent to improve the health, recreational, and legal needs of Negroes.

W. C. Jackson, vice-president of the North Carolina College for Women, stated that classes on race relations were offered at over sixty white southern colleges.⁴⁴ Anti-lynching efforts were also undertaken through every available means. Southern intellectuals have been very supportive although influencing the masses has just begun.

Two different perspectives, one pessimistic and the other optimistic, emerge from these articles about the status of African Americans. Efforts were being made by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation to alleviate the plight of blacks. However, prejudice and institutional racism was still deeply interwoven within American society as experienced by the authors, George Johnson and Elizabeth Taylor Perry.

Three articles were devoted to American Indians. One was written by Flora Warren Seymour, a member of the Board

⁴³ R. B. Eleazer, "A Realistic Approach to the Race Problem: Origin and Work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation," Religious Education 26 (1931): 120.

⁴⁴ For a listing of these colleges, see W. C. Jackson, "College Instruction in Race Relations," Religious Education 26 (1931): 123-26.

of Indian Commissioners. She was sympathetic towards the Indians and seemed to be well acquainted with the customs of the various tribes. She emphasized that the "paternal care of the government for the Indians serves to create a difference and a jealousy which can scarcely be avoided."⁴⁵ According to Seymour, this federal wardship creates prejudice against Indians and the solution would be to gradually remove this artificial difference of wardship.

A second article by a Seneca Indian, Arthur Parker, countered the stereotypical picture of Native Americans. He described the wide diversity of tribes and tribal languages and that some Native Americans have received a college education. Parker focused on a national society of American Indians, formed in 1911 which had about 3000 members. Despite their heterogeneity, they

were proud of their ancestral heritage. When they spoke of the race it was with poetic pathos. They were representatives of a people who had lost a great continent and been dispossessed by means not always honorable.⁴⁶

Yet this society of American Indians sought better education and compensation for the land they lost.

There was a plea for better government schools, for a return of stolen rights to water, irrigation, minerals, oil and many other things, but these complaints and demands were those made

⁴⁵ Flora Warren Seymour, "Red Man and White," Religious Education 26 (1931): 105.

⁴⁶ Arthur C. Parker, "The Attitude of the American Indian to American Life," Religious Education 26 (1931): 112.

as Americans seeking redress from one's own country.⁴⁷

If this is not done, Indians will continue to mistrust the government. Yet they are not disloyal, for it is to America that they pledge their allegiance.

W. David Owl, the President of the Six Nations Association, described the assimilation of Indians: "[T]he Indian has undergone a thorough process of whitewashing. We have tried to make a white man of him irrespective of racial heritage, tribal membership or sectional affiliation."⁴⁸

Yet in his criticism of Christian evangelism, Owl views Indians in a negative light.

There is indeed an element of pathos to be experienced when a well-meaning worker attempts to gender the mind of Christ to semi-primitive people like Indians only to find that already a thwarted concept of a friendly Christ exists.⁴⁹

Owl's description of the Indians as "semi-primitive" is problematic because he does not specify what this means. Is he comparing Indians to the standards of the white race? Were Indians "semi-primitive" because they had a "thwarted concept of a friendly Christ?" Can Indians avoid being "semi-primitive" by assimilating to white standards?

A positive answer to these questions might be implied because Owl viewed Indians as

⁴⁷ Parker, 113.

⁴⁸ W. David Owl, "Remaking the American Indian," Religious Education 26 (1931): 115.

⁴⁹ Owl, 116.

passing through the adolescent spirit of the white race. Years of leading the Indian by the hand as a child have left him [sic] half-grown both mentally and spiritually and without ample training to give full play to his [sic] inherent capacities.⁵⁰

This is another problematic statement. Pictured to be adolescents, children, and half-grown because of their lack of training, Indians suffered by lack of full expression of their capacities. On the other hand, this could be interpreted as an angry critique of white paternalism.

The Indian's need of training could be provided by public school education which the author viewed as beneficial. Mission schools turn out well-ordered children who have greater opportunities for progress than experienced by their parents. Owl saw the lack of moral ethics in Indian youth was due to the

lack of observance of social standards and moral relationships. Unstable family ties and the undermining of substantial family life by obsolete native customs play havoc with the masses of Indian people.⁵¹

Indian family life was seen as unstable with its "obsolete native customs." An implicit comparison with white standards finds the Indian culture deficient. According to Owl, progress will only come if Indians assimilate and adapt white culture to replace their inferior way of life.

The articles on the Mexican Americans and Japanese

⁵⁰ Owl, 116.

⁵¹ Owl, 117.

Americans focused more on the problems that people encountered in adapting to American life and the prejudice each group experienced. According to Hubert Herring, Mexicans faced discrimination and economic exploitation.

While the Mexican does not face the variety and intensity of discrimination that the Negro does, nevertheless he faces definite discrimination. There are plenty of signs "No Mexicans admitted" in the cities of the Southwest....the Mexican immigrant proves easy prey to the unscrupulous labor agent, real estate dealer and so forth.⁵²

Although there are constant debates over restricting their immigration, Mexicans were exploited for their cheap labor and works at jobs that whites do not want.

The children of Japanese immigrants, despite being American citizens, faced discrimination by being barred from higher status jobs. Their bicultural dilemma was well described by Emory Bogardus.

They are becoming Americanized despite themselves; they are moving away from things Japanese, only to find that they are not wanted in American society. They are young people without a home country and without an adopted country and are bewildered.⁵³

Even the outstanding characteristics of the Japanese, their industry and frugality, are being turned against them, according to Bogardus. When they exhibit these qualities,

⁵² Hubert C. Herring, "Relations between Americans and Mexicans in the United States," Religious Education 26 (1931): 135.

⁵³ Emory S. Bogardus, "The Japanese in the United States," Religious Education 26 (1931): 140. The author was a professor of sociology at the University of Southern California.

Bogardus says "they are criticized. They are looked upon as enemies, for in their industry and frugality they can outdo Americans, who are less willing to work and to save than were their fathers."⁵⁴

Both groups also faced varying amounts of religious bigotry. While Mexican immigrants were traditionally Catholic, more than half of Japanese immigrants were Buddhist. Unless there was a Spanish-speaking priest, the Mexican American did not feel welcomed in Catholic churches. Protestant groups tried to proselyte them and will not work together with Catholic welfare agencies. Most Americans were intolerant of Japanese Buddhists, especially white Christians.⁵⁵ Yet anti-Japanese feelings were also extended to Japanese Christians.

Prejudice is such that a Japanese Christian church cannot be built in an American better-class neighborhood. If an attempt is quietly made, the church is likely to be mysteriously burned down. Christian Americans turn against a Japanese Christian church because it "will bring in the Japs."⁵⁶

Anti-Japanese laws were hinted at by Bogardus, but never named such as the 1924 Immigration Act which completely ended Japanese immigration. This improved

⁵⁴ Bogardus, 139.

⁵⁵ According to a limited study by the author, "Christians showed a greater prejudice against the Japanese than did the non-Christian Americans, apparently because of adverse Buddhist reactions." See Bogardus, 139.

⁵⁶ Bogardus, 139.

relations with Americans because of the

decrease in the population of the first generation Japanese since 1924. With the exclusion of the Japanese from the quota it was everywhere clear that they would no longer constitute a serious competition in American life. With decreasing numbers they would no longer be able to supplant Americans and come into control.⁵⁷

This statement can conjure up images of the "yellow hordes" threatening America even though Asian immigration was minuscule as compared to European immigrants.

Bogardus also stated that the "anti-Japanese land laws are being enforced with decreasing rigidity. American farmers have been loathe to part with efficient Japanese 'renters.'"⁵⁸ He does not question why these discriminatory alien land laws were originally passed against the Japanese in the first place.

Because of the focus of this dissertation, the article "Chinese-American Relations in the United States," by J. W. Creighton will be analyzed in depth.⁵⁹ His knowledge about the history of the Chinese in America was considerable although it lacked depth. Creighton was aware of the growing Chinese influence on the West Coast. He noted how the Chinese were becoming assimilated:

⁵⁷ Bogardus, 140.

⁵⁸ Bogardus, 141.

⁵⁹ J. W. Creighton, "Chinese-American Relations in the United States, Religious Education 26 (1931): 142-48. The author was a professor of missions and comparative religion at the College of Wooster.

Boys named Wong and girls named Lee have no more expectation of living in China than the Schmidt family has of returning to Germany or the O'Reillys to Ireland....These children of the third and fourth generation have attended our schools and colleges, are versed in practical American politics and think readily in American terms....At first the incoming Chinese kept aloof from things American, and the younger generation became as American as possible and refused to study the language and literature of their fathers.⁶⁰

This insightful comment shows the common experience of both European and Chinese immigrants in adopting America as their new home. It also hinted at the bicultural conflict between the older and younger generations.

Creighton also was aware that "Californians were permitting atrocities against the Chinese in an apparent intention of driving them out of the country."⁶¹ Although these "atrocities" were not spelled out, there was a footnote for further details about anti-Chinese atrocities.

Creighton unfortunately used the word "outlaw" to describe immigrants from China. The Chinese "was an outlaw not because of any crime committed, but from the fact that Chinese law and protection did not in those days go with the emigrant."⁶² He omitted the fact that the Chinese government viewed emigration as illegal.

Creighton also was mistaken when he noted that: "From

⁶⁰ Creighton, 142.

⁶¹ Creighton, 143.

⁶² Creighton, 144.

the beginning, American law has taken little interest in the Chinese."⁶³ This ignored the fact that there were hundreds of anti-Chinese laws enacted in California, many of which were struck down as unconstitutional by the California Supreme Court.

Creighton alluded to the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act when he mentioned that one problem "is our exclusion policy and the Chinese evasion of immigration laws, but I suspect that agreement even here is not so difficult."⁶⁴ The only agreement was that the Chinese were to be excluded from immigrating since Chinese immigration became such a national political issue. In fact, when the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act expired, the Geary Act in 1892 renewed Chinese exclusion for another ten years.

Creighton believed that Christian cooperation between Chinese and Americans can help solve problems such as the importation of Chinese prostitutes. He spoke highly of the well-known work of Donaldina Cameron in her mission to rescue prostitutes in San Francisco's Chinatown. Yet he failed to note that the root cause for Chinese prostitution was that immigration policy of the United States prohibited women from China from entering the country. This resulted in "bachelor societies" in the Chinatowns on the West Coast that caused a high demand for Chinese prostitutes which were

⁶³ Creighton, 144.

⁶⁴ Creighton, 147.

supplied by tongs engaged in criminal activities.

While presenting a fairly sympathetic picture of Chinese Americans in the 1930s, Creighton's omissions ignore the racist foundations of American society. He ignored the fact that the Chinese were systematically excluded from participating in American society through discriminatory immigration laws and overt racism which prevented them from becoming free and equal citizens. Despite these faults, it was not until 1989 that another article about Chinese Americans appeared.

This critique of Creighton can also be applied to the other articles in this February 1931 issue of Religious Education. While there was an emphasis upon developing healthy interracial relationships, there was a lack of awareness of the institutional nature of American racism. Discriminatory patterns in housing, schools, employment were sometimes mentioned, but ways to correct these practices were omitted. The solution to racism seemed to be through personal relationships with minorities. Yet this individualist perspective could not address the larger context of institutionalized racism. However, individual friendships were a necessary starting point for solving the race problem in the early 1930s.

The Religious Education Association must be given credit for this February 1931 issue. It was a visionary issue since racial-ethnic groups other than African

Americans would be invisible in the Religious Education journal for another twenty years.⁶⁵

Integration through Friendships

The primary theme of the third era, between 1931 and 1960, focused on inter-racial relationships as the means to overcome white prejudice. This was exemplified in the 1940s and 1950s by a series of nine articles on intercultural and intergroup education. It encompassed more than racial-ethnic groups for it included groups such as European immigrants, Jews, and Catholics.⁶⁶ It was concerned with methods of interaction with other ethnic, religious, and cultural groups in order to lessen prejudice. Yet intercultural education also addressed the need for schools and churches to integrate and develop cultural pluralism.

A related theme of intercultural education was that prejudice was a learned attitude in children and youth and that educational methods can alleviate it. A third theme that emerged during this period was awareness of racism in churches, schools and books. Concern was also expressed

⁶⁵ The next article on Japanese Americans appeared in 1951; for Native Americans, 1967; for Latinos, 1983; and for Chinese Americans, 1989.

⁶⁶ For example, see the March-April 1960 issue of Religious Education which has three articles on "Intergroup Relations in Religious Textbooks" from a Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant perspective: Bernard D. Weinryb, "Intergroup Content in Jewish Religious Textbooks," 109-16; Trafford P. Maher, "The Catholic School Curriculum and Intergroup Relations," 117-22; and Bernhard E. Olson, "Intergroup Relations in Protestant Teaching Materials," 123-38.

regarding social ideas about race that need to be overcome. This theme about institutional racism (although this term was not used) was more muted and less obvious than the other two themes.

It should be noted that during World War II, two REA symposiums were focused on intercultural education. The March-April 1944 issue was devoted to "Community Tensions and Intercultural Education" an issue focused on religious, ethnic, and socio-economic tensions in addition to racial tensions. The May-June 1945 issue, "Religion and Race in Education," focused on intercultural education for children.

Intercultural and Intergroup Education

One of the prominent themes during this integrationist era was the importance of intercultural and intergroup education. Stewart G. Cole was the most prolific writer during this period and his seven articles on intercultural and intergroup education to Religious Education covered a period from 1941 to 1958. He was the Executive Director of the Service Bureau for Intercultural Education in New York City and then an educational consultant in Los Angeles.

According to Cole, intercultural education was needed because of the diverse population of the United States due to immigration and the potential for divisive intercultural conflicts. Its strategy was to recognize the intrinsic worth of each ethnic group and for individuals to "grow in democratic behavior through friendly interaction with each

other across class and culture lines."⁶⁷ In another article, Cole stressed that personal friendships "serve as bridgeheads across the chasms of intergroup strangeness and hostility."⁶⁸

Intercultural education must be integrated into the public school's curriculum as racial tensions in society were reflected in the schools. Students must be trained to live in a pluralistic society yet teachers lacked in-service multicultural training and apprenticeships.

A survey of primary and secondary textbooks revealed that Negroes tended to be ignored. In addition, "[o]ffensive generalizations about them (Oriental-Americans) occur frequently, especially in connotation of racial inferiority and the 'white man psychology.'"⁶⁹ The melting pot imagery was predominant and there were few references about cultural pluralism.

In 1953, Cole replaced the word "intercultural" with "intergroup." For him, the foundations of intergroup education were: (1) understanding culture and sub-cultures, (2) awareness of the "American dilemma" (the dangers of

⁶⁷ Stewart G. Cole, "Intercultural Education," Religious Education 36 (1941): 144. This article was also published in the Contemporary Jewish Record.

⁶⁸ Stewart G. Cole, "Community Tensions and Intercultural Education," Religious Education 39 (1944): 68.

⁶⁹ Stewart G. Cole, "Trends in Intercultural Education," Religious Education 44 (1949): 25. He was now the executive director of the Pacific Coast Council on Intercultural Education in Los Angeles.

prejudice), (3) knowing the psychological needs of personality, and (4) "worldmindedness" (developing a sense of world citizenship). According to Cole, intergroup education is needed because the "segregation of Indians, Negroes, and Orientals are still a powerful factor in racial relationships."⁷⁰ Little is being done in the churches even though "bridging the gulf between races, nationality groups, religious faiths, and social classes are of the very essence of the ideals of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God."⁷¹

With the assistance of a seminar group, Cole prepared a syllabus used in a workshop on "Religious Education and Intercultural Relationships" at the fiftieth anniversary convention of the Religious Education Association in 1953.

Six major problems were addressed:

They are (a) race tensions; (b) first-class versus second-class citizenship; (c) religious group conflicts; (d) group diversity versus national unity; (e) the American dilemma; and (f) social prejudice.⁷²

Cole asked religious educators to work for integration in the midst of a society that has "permitted undemocratic and non-Judeo-Christian standards of grading and evaluating

⁷⁰ Stewart G. Cole, "Trends in Intergroup Education," Religious Education 48 (1953): 31. He was now an educational consultant in Los Angeles.

⁷¹ Cole, "Trends in Intergroup Education," 37.

⁷² Stewart G. Cole, "Religious Education and Intercultural Relationships: A Syllabus," Religious Education 48 (1953): 352-53.

persons...."⁷³ Cole also wanted religious educators to help people discern their social goals: either white dominance, assimilation, or cultural pluralism.

Cole's fifth article in 1958 acknowledged white guilt: "A people who practiced slavery for generations in the face of the Judeo-Christian ethic can scarcely escape suffering from a sense of corporate guilt."⁷⁴ Educational leaders must be trained to prepare Americans for an integrated society. Cole argued not only for an integrated classroom, but an integrated fellowship living in a racial democracy.

Intercultural Education for Children

In addition to general interest in intercultural and intergroup education during this era, a particular theme receiving attention in Religious Education was intercultural education for children. A widely held assumption was that prejudice was a learned attitude which can be lessened by intercultural education. Instead of emphasizing similarities, parents and teachers over-stress differences. Ruth Cunningham pointed out, "It is easy for us to make a child aware of the 'quaint' qualities of the little Chinese children or the 'queer' customs of the little Dutch boys and

⁷³ Cole, "Religious Education," 356.

⁷⁴ Stewart G. Cole, "Education Can Improve Race Relations," Religious Education 53 (1958): 32.

girls."⁷⁵ According to Cunningham, racial differences should be introduced in the context of other human differences such as age, gender, and occupation.

Several articles were about "best practices" of intercultural education for children and youth. According to Clifford Bragdon, best practices in secondary schools, included research about different cultural groups, knowing their cultural contributions, and "personal contact with superior representatives of unfamiliar cultures."⁷⁶ In church and synagogue schools, the best practices according to Mildred Moody Eakin, must include interracial leadership, long-term projects, and support by other adult groups.⁷⁷

The May-June 1945 issue of Religious Education contained a symposium on "Religious and Race in Education," which had three articles on intercultural education for children. Mary de Lourdes described how teachers, parents, volunteers, and students in a school were trained to understand prejudice and minority groups.⁷⁸ Dorothy Wright

⁷⁵ Ruth Cunningham, "Even unto the Youngest: An Interpretation of Intercultural Education," Religious Education 39 (1944): 88.

⁷⁶ Clifford R. Bragdon, "Intercultural Education: Best Practices in Secondary Schools," Religious Education 39 (1944): 97.

⁷⁷ Mildred Moody Eakin, "Intercultural Education: Best Practices in Church and Synagogue Schools," Religious Education 39 (1944): 91-94.

⁷⁸ Sr. Mary de Lourdes, "Intercultural Education in and through the Nursery School," Religious Education 40 (1945): 133-40.

gave an example of how an elementary teacher during World War II had her students write letters and visit German, Negro, and Japanese children.⁷⁹ Florence Klaber reported how white and Negro fifth-graders exchanged classroom visits and worked on cooperative projects.⁸⁰

Rose Zeligs discussed children's attitudes toward other races and nationalities in a 1946 article. According to a 1931 survey, twelve-year-old children "showed clearly that North European races and nationalities were more acceptable to them than South European and Oriental peoples. The only exception was the Japanese, whom the children favored."⁸¹ However, in the aftermath of World War II, the children most disliked Germans and Japanese. Zeligs observed: "We parents and teachers see ourselves mirrored in these attitudes of our children....we cannot deny that often they are echoes of our own expressions."⁸²

Hints toward Institutional Racism

During this integrationist era, another theme did appear, at least in a mild form, that of institutional racism, primarily in the church. Racism in the church was

⁷⁹ Dorothy Wright, "A Group of Eight Year Olds Find New Friends," Religious Education 40 (1945): 140-45.

⁸⁰ Florence W. Klaber, "And Thy Neighbor as Thyself," Religious Education 40 (1945): 146-48.

⁸¹ Rose Zeligs, "Tolerance is Not Enough: An Educational Solution," Religious Education 41 (1946): 137.

⁸² Zeligs, 139.

addressed in two articles by J. Howell Atwood, a professor of sociology; he forthrightly discussed the color line in churches. Black Christians resented

not separate churches, Negro and white, but an attitude of exclusiveness on the part of white churches....to the Negro Christian this convicts the average white Christian of disloyalty to the spirit of Christ."⁸³

Atwood interviewed sixty-one black ministers and one of his conclusions was:

Practically one-half of the regular sample felt that most white people in Protestant churches assume a superior attitude toward colored people. Four-fifths of the regular sample held that racial division itself, the attitudes [in] back of division, or both are in conflict with Jesus' teaching.⁸⁴

These black ministers doubted the sincerity of white Christians who allow racial prejudice to enter the church.

Atwood briefly discussed racism in white churches. However, his solution was primarily on a personal level through interracial friendships such as white ministers and young people befriending their black counterparts.

Inclusion of Negroes in the "we" group can come only through greater mutuality of interest, greater understanding and first-hand knowledge of each group by the other, increased numbers of genuine friendships across the color line....

White Christians have not yet fully recognized

⁸³ J. Howell Atwood, "Interrace Rapprochement," Religious Education 26 (1931): 544.

⁸⁴ Jesse Howell Atwood, "Negro Ministers and the Color Line in American Protestantism," Religious Education 27 (1932): 827.

Negroes as persons.⁸⁵

Atwood did hint at corporate solutions such as when black and white churches mutually help each other in joint cooperative projects such as a daily vacation Bible school or putting a new roof on the parsonage. These experiences can help achieve the "we" feeling for white and black Christians on both personal and corporate dimensions.

Yet Christianity, according to Frank Wilson in a 1946 article, cannot offer much hope. A "segregated church is a stumbling block for the victims of racial hatred who want to believe in the unity of the Body of Christ."⁸⁶

Racism in the media was addressed by a 1931 article by N. C. Newbold. He asked why books and magazines painted misleading and inaccurate images of Negroes. He urged that respectable Negro citizens not be judged by the outlandish depictions of a few irresponsible ones. What was needed was a literary production that "will give the average white person a first-class picture of the worth and character of his Negro fellow citizens."⁸⁷

The elusiveness of racial definitions was discussed by Alonzo Grace, in a 1932 article, since there are differing state standards for defining a Negro. There was the belief

⁸⁵ Atwood, "Interrace Rapprochement," 545.

⁸⁶ Frank T. Wilson, "Religion in Negro Colleges," Religious Education 41 (1946): 56.

⁸⁷ N. C. Newbold, "Needed: A True Picture of the Negro," Religious Education 26 (1931): 749.

that one drop of Negro blood made one black if society can detect it. "Superiority and inferiority in race does not exist, except as there are a number of superior and inferior individuals who are members of a race."⁸⁸ To the author's credit, this suggests that race is not just biological, but is socially constructed. Society, not nature, defines race.

Race, according to a 1944 article by William Stuart Nelson, was treated "as a matter of accident. What else can possibly follow from the doctrine of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man?"⁸⁹ Yet blacks were greatly concerned about the racial exclusiveness of white churches which contradicted the ideals of Jesus. Nelson believed that Christianity allows the use of any legal means for securing justice such as the courts, the ballot, and mass protests. By these means, racism in its institutionalized forms would be attacked although Nelson does not draw this conclusion.

Robert Gordis in another 1944 article, astutely observed that "the Negro situation is basically a problem of the whites and not the Negroes, just as Anti-semitism is not

⁸⁸ Alonzo G. Grace, "Race Relations and Education," Religious Education 27 (1932): 169.

⁸⁹ William Stuart Nelson, "Our Racial Situation in the Light of the Judeo-Christian Tradition," Religious Education 39 (1944): 74. The author was dean of the School of Religion at Howard University.

a Jewish but a Christian issue."⁹⁰ Blacks must have five rights: voting, education, equal employment, adequate housing, and freedom from social discrimination. By achieving these rights, racism would be addressed in its institutional form. Like Nelson, Gordis hinted at, but did not draw out, this implication about institutional racism.

Martin Hayes Bickham, in a 1947 article, urged the formation of an internalized conscience through the rethinking of our inherited racial views and by interracial understanding and cooperation. This can be passed down to the next generation through the family and in the schools. This conscience

may be directed to resisting the internal operations of racial prejudice and racial hate and racial sadism within human personality. But this is not all. Conscience can also be developed to resist and drive from our society those projected racial discriminations, racial segregation and racial aggressions....⁹¹

Yet Bickham does not specify how one can change one's inherited racial views to form this new consciousness.

A 1957 article by Fred Brownlee lauded the landmark 1954 Supreme Court decision which declared segregation unconstitutional. This decision was viewed as an example of

⁹⁰ Robert Gordis, "Our Racial Situation in the Light of the Judeo-Christian Tradition," Religious Education 39 (1944): 72.

⁹¹ Martin Hayes Bickham, "Developing an Impelling Conscience in Race Relations," Religious Education 42 (1947): 361-62.

gradualism which gradually achieves a desired end.⁹² Other examples of gradualism were the successful Montgomery bus boycott and the conversion of the Apostle Paul. Segregation is almost universally viewed as morally wrong for "there is no inherently superior or inferior race. People have risen to the same intellectual and emotional heights in all races."⁹³

The only article between 1931 and 1960 about a minority group outside of African Americans was Robert Spencer's 1951 article on Japanese American Buddhism.⁹⁴ Buddhism faced many problems in adapting a transplanted religion to the Niseis (children of Japanese immigrants) who were heavily Americanized. Spencer's conclusion was that this clash of cultures may be too great and the future of Japanese American Buddhist did not look promising.

In conclusion, friendships with African Americans was the primary theme during this third era between 1931 and 1960 of Religious Education. Through intercultural and intergroup education, prejudice can be unlearned. This was especially true for children and youth who reflect the

⁹² Fred Brownlee, "Negro-White Relations and Gradualism," Religious Education 52 (1957): 63-66. It was unfortunate that the term "Uncle Tomism" was used for his argument of gradualism.

⁹³ Brownlee, 65.

⁹⁴ Robert F. Spencer, "Problems of Religious Education in Japanese-American Buddhism," Religious Education 46 (1951): 100-06.

racial attitudes of their parents. In addition, some articles during this period hinted at the institutional dimensions of racism in the church and in society.

The Civil Rights Era: 1963-1979

During this fourth era between 1963 and 1979, there appeared the largest number of articles on racial issues in Religious Education. With the exception of a 1967 article on Native Americans, all of these articles were in the context of black civil rights. Most of these articles were concentrated in four issues: Two of these issues were devoted to the reports of the 1969 National Convention of the Religious Education Association whose theme was "Our Divided Society: A Challenge to Religious Education."⁹⁵ The other two issues were: "Race Relations and Religious Education" (Jan.-Feb. 1964) and "Education in the Black Church" (July-Aug. 1974). Thus the greatest number of articles on black issues in Religious Education were between 1969 to 1974.

These four issues were edited by Randolph C. Miller whose term as editor was from 1958-78. During this time, according to Stephen Schmidt, Religious Education seemed unrelated to society as it "took few stands on any of the significant social issues throughout the fifties and

⁹⁵ "The Pre-Convention Issue" (Sept.-Oct. 1969) and "National Convention Reports" (Mar.-April 1970).

sixties."⁹⁶ Schmidt viewed this as a major failure of the REA for refusing to deal with controversial issues.

Because there was no solid ideological base except the illusive notion of free exchange of ideas, there never developed a significant platform for social reform or social correction....The REA became captive to its own institutional success, it worked for and through power structures that it really never challenged or criticized.⁹⁷

Nevertheless, black issues were the focus in these four issues of Religious Education in 1964, 1969, 1970, and 1974. This decade between 1964 and 1974 had the most articles on black issues while Randolph C. Miller was editor.

The 1964 Symposium on Race Relations
and Religious Education

The social context for this Jan.-Feb. 1964 issue was civil rights events which shook the nation in 1963: (1) Martin Luther King's anti-segregation campaign in Birmingham; (2) two black students enrolling at the University of Alabama over Governor George Wallace's protests; (3) 250,000 march at a Washington D. C. demonstration; (4) four black girls killed when the 16th Street Baptist Church was bombed in Birmingham; and (5) the assassination of Medgar Evers and John F. Kennedy.

These civil rights events may have been in the mind of Randolph C. Miller as he devoted the Jan.-Feb. 1964 issue to

⁹⁶ Schmidt, 173.

⁹⁷ Schmidt, 174.

"Race Relations and Religious Education."⁹⁸ According to Stephen Schmidt, this comprehensive symposium was

a high point of the entire decade. The articles are inclusive and open in their positive witness. This symposium represents the best of Miller's efforts. It is the rare exception to deal with real problems within the context of the journal's educational task.⁹⁹

The relevance of race relations can be seen in Miller's editorial comment: "We need to know how prejudice develops in all of us and what it does in terms of racial differences."¹⁰⁰

The Biblical Basis for Integration

For the first time in Religious Education, a biblical perspective of race relations was employed to support integration. Despite the election of Israel, according to Daisuke Kitagawa:

When nationalistic spirit mounted in the face of serious national crisis and ethno-centrism was likely to get better of Israel, they countered such trends with stories reiterating the oneness of all peoples such as the Book of Ruth or the Book of Jonah.¹⁰¹

Israel's election was neither due to her superior qualities

⁹⁸ They were biblical teaching, racial differences, methods of education, curriculum materials, church/synagogue projects, and college students.

⁹⁹ See Schmidt, 190, n. 73.

¹⁰⁰ Randolph Crump Miller, "Race Relations and Religious Education," Religious Education 59 (1964): 2.

¹⁰¹ Daisuke Kitagawa, "The Church and Race Relations in Biblical Perspective," Religious Education 59 (1964): 8.

nor was it exclusive since Israel's mission was to make known God's revelation. According to Kathryn Sullivan: "Other nations--even the long-hostile Egyptians and the often-conquering Assyrians--were to share with Israel in blessed and intimate relations with God."¹⁰² Moses' marriage to a Cushite woman was used by Arthur Gilbert to show God's blessing an interracial marriage and that the "Jews are not nor ever were a racial group. They accepted all races into the faith and marriage was permitted within the faith."¹⁰³ Yet Gilbert erroneously stated that "the Canaanites were white, every one of them."¹⁰⁴

The Church's Failure to Integrate

According to Joseph Fichter, integration did not result from the church's doctrine that all people are equal under God. Rather it was from

the social scientists who demonstrated that Negroes are not inherently inferior to whites, and it was the growing number of educated and accomplished Negroes themselves who demonstrated the absurdity of a theory of innate racial inferiority.¹⁰⁵

Thomas Pettigrew observed that: "Protestant parishes,

¹⁰² Mother Kathryn Sullivan, "Sacred Scripture and Race," Religious Education 59 (1964): 11.

¹⁰³ Arthur Gilbert, "Biblical Teaching about Race Relations--An Old Testament Perspective," Religious Education 59 (1964): 15.

¹⁰⁴ Gilbert, 15.

¹⁰⁵ Joseph H. Fichter, "The Catholic South and Race," Religious Education 59 (1964): 30.

schools, and agencies are almost as segregated and racially discriminatory as they ever were."¹⁰⁶ Some congregations actually work to support discrimination. Perhaps Pettigrew's most cogent argument was the church's organizational need for money and members which prevented clergy from getting involved in desegregation.

Interracial fellowship is severely lacking in churches, according to Alfred Kramer, because our "immobile religious education experience reflects itself in our limited acquaintanceship, friendship and fellowship."¹⁰⁷

Understanding Prejudice

An article by the famous psychologist, Gordon Allport,¹⁰⁸ observed that "frequent attenders, along with the total non-attenders, are most tolerant. It is irregular church attendance that correlates most highly with bigotry."¹⁰⁹

Understanding the tragic history of the Negro was another way to become less prejudicial. According to Marc Tannenbaum, Negroes has been crippled in their education, housing, and employment because of slavery and "then we

¹⁰⁶ Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Wherein the Church has Failed in Race," Religious Education 59 (1964): 64.

¹⁰⁷ Alfred S. Kramer, "For Those Who Inherit," Religious Education 59 (1964): 59.

¹⁰⁸ Gordon W. Allport, "Prejudice: Is It Societal or Personal?" Religious Education 59 (1964): 20-29. This was reprinted from the Journal of Social Issues.

¹⁰⁹ Allport, 27.

blame him for a limping performance. The crippling process began a long time ago."¹¹⁰

Educational Methods in Race Relations

In-service training about race relations for teachers was needed to foster an integrated classroom. David Salten used the example of one city's experience with court-ordered desegregation of its schools.¹¹¹ For Marie Augusta Neal, organizing in-service workshops for clergy and religious teachers would make them "deeply aware of the problems and needs, [then] the personnel for educating the general public will be enormously expanded and the reformation of the community well underway."¹¹² This was indeed an optimistic hope! In contrast, Cornelius Tarplee stated that the "inability to mount an effective educational effort so far is itself a revelation of how prejudice can paralyze whole institutions."¹¹³

A barrier to understanding prejudice was the invisibility of minorities in books such as Catholic secondary religious textbooks. "To omit an analysis of prejudice, treatment of the Negro, and the relationships

¹¹⁰ Marc H. Tannenbaum, "The American Negro: Myths and Realities," Religious Education 59 (1964): 35.

¹¹¹ David G. Salten, "Education in Race Relations," Religious Education 59 (1964): 37-43.

¹¹² Sr. Marie Augusta Neal, "Methods of Education in Race Relations," Religious Education 59 (1964): 45.

¹¹³ Cornelius C. Tarplee, "Education and the Challenge of Prejudice," Religious Education 59 (1964): 47.

involved may well be one of the casual factors influencing the student to continue in his acquired prejudices."¹¹⁴ In Jewish schools, according to Solomon Bernards, race relations was not a separate topic. However, it was "related in many different ways to courses on the Bible, religion, and ethics, where the specific problems of interracial justice emerge."¹¹⁵

Inter-racial Projects in Churches

Synagogues, and Colleges

One section on "projects under church and synagogue auspices," contained ten articles describing inter-racial projects and experiences.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Sr. M. Rose Albert Thering, "Religious Education in Race Relations: A Catholic Viewpoint: A Study of Race Relations as Revealed by a Content Analysis of Secondary Religion Textbooks," Religious Education 59 (1964): 53.

¹¹⁵ Solomon S. Bernards, "Race Relations in the Jewish School Curriculum," Religious Education 59 (1964): 60.

¹¹⁶ The experiences were: (1) a Negro priest's positive experiences in white parishes--Jerome Brooks, "The Negro Priest in White Parishes," Religious Education 59 (1964): 73-76; (2) the United Church Women mobilizing churches to protest an incident of prejudice against a Pakistani man--Virginia H. Ellison, from a report by Eleanor M. Peterson, "It Happened in Shippensburg!" Religious Education 59 (1964): 80-83; (3) efforts by the National Council of Churches' Commission on Religion and Race to fight discrimination in Mississippi--John Denham, "A Christian Educator's Involvement in the Race Crisis," Religious Education 59 (1964): 95-97; and (4) the summer work by the Student Christian Movement to help teach Negro children who did not have schools in Virginia--Anthony C. Sherman, "A Virginian's Shame," Religious Education 59 (1964): 97-100.

The projects were: (1) synagogue community projects and rabbis demonstrating with Christian colleagues for racial justice--Balfour Brickner, "Projects under Synagogue

In "Race Relations and College Students," Mary Emil warned about social segregation on campus and "to take another look at the apartheid which the campus culture enforces."¹¹⁷ A black Catholic chaplain, Rollins Lambert, experienced that: "In surveying the activity of students in race relations, one cannot avoid being impressed by the number of Jewish young people who are involved, and by the comparative apathy of Negro students."¹¹⁸

Despite these dangers, colleges and campus religious organizations were good environments in which to develop race relations. Carl Zietlow noted that direct experience in race relations by college students was more effective than lectures or discussions.¹¹⁹ Harry Kaplan, a Jewish

Auspices," Religious Education 59 (1964): 76-80; (2) inter-racial home visits--Wilhelmina Shepherd, "A Simple, Easy Way to Improve Racial Understanding," Religious Education 59 (1964): 84-85; (3) a college study program in Africa--James H. Robinson, "Operation Crossroads Africa," Religious Education 59 (1964): 89-91; (4) regional and national conferences on religion and race devoted to fighting racial prejudice--Galen R. Weaver, "Racial Change and Relevant Religious Faith and Action," Religious Education 59 (1964): 91-94; (5) Inter-racial projects by Jewish religious schools and synagogues--Judah Pilch, "Civil Rights and Jewish Institutions," Religious Education 59 (1964): 86-89; and (6) the story of nineteen rabbis visiting Birmingham, Alabama during a time of racial strife--Richard L. Rubenstein, "The Rabbi and Social Conflict," Religious Education 59 (1964): 100-06.

¹¹⁷ Sr. Mary Emil, "Race Relations and Higher Education," Religious Education 59 (1964): 109.

¹¹⁸ Rollins E. Lambert, "Race Relations on the Campus," Religious Education 59 (1964): 115.

¹¹⁹ Carl P. Zietlow, "Race, Students, and Non-Violence," Religious Education 59 (1964): 116-20.

chaplin made a very astute observation: "Courses in race relations are a must today, not only for the major in sociology and group relations, but for all students who wish to live in the American community of tomorrow."¹²⁰

These articles touched upon inter-racial projects of churches, synagogues, and colleges. Although it was not explicitly stated, these actions implied that racism did exist in these institutions. These projects and experiences suggested changes that were needed in order to confront racism in these institutions.

Trends toward Institutionalized Racism

In addition to this 1964 symposium, the theme of institutionalized racism was continued by other articles selected by Randolph Crump Miller.

In a 1963 article, Buell Gallagher¹²¹ traced how Christianity, beginning with Constantine, became identified with the Roman Empire and European colonialism. According to Gallagher:

¹²⁰ Harry Kaplan, "Race Relations in College," Religious Education 59 (1964): 112.

¹²¹ Buell G. Gallagher, "The Roots of Immorality in Race Relations," Religious Education 58 (1963): 93. The author was the president of the City College of New York.

In his introduction, he noted that: "A search of all literature on American race relations--some 2,000 books and more than 10,000 articles--reveals that as late as 1938 not one responsible writer in the United States actually believed that racial segregation would be eliminated from American life," 92.

From the seventh century until recent times, Christianity in all its forms, Protestant and Catholic, Eastern and Western, has been closely identified with the aspirations of white men in every quarter of the globe. As in Asia and Africa, so in America: when the church capitulated to white imperialism, it gained an empire and lost humanity.¹²²

Gallagher also astutely observed that: "Paul did not attack race prejudice because, in his day, the concept of 'race' as we know it today was not yet born. Indeed, the notion of 'race' as held today is scarcely two centuries old."¹²³ Paul's message of inclusion, according to Gallagher, was not reclaimed until the missionary movement of the nineteenth century when it was realized that the "white man is not the custodian of the gospel of Jesus Christ."¹²⁴

Yet Gallagher failed to see that paternalism and ethnocentrism could also operate within the missionary enterprise. He concluded with a warning that a choice must be made between Christianity and white supremacy.

A lively debate about why few blacks volunteered for missions and service projects began with a 1963 article by Joseph R. Washington, a chaplain at Dillard University in New Orleans. He argued that the reason for this lack of black volunteers was their lack of theology and their need

¹²² Gallagher, 95.

¹²³ Gallagher, 93.

¹²⁴ Gallagher, 95-96.

for economic rewards.¹²⁵

A chaplain at the Tuskegee Institute, Daniel Wynn, angrily replied that blacks did not respond because they had poor educational opportunities and had lower wages due to racial restrictions.¹²⁶ In response to this critique, Joseph Washington stated that blacks need to have a larger sense of mission by demanding full participation in white institutions such as churches.¹²⁷ This series of three articles was the first time that Religious Education featured a debate between two African Americans.

The trend toward institutional racism detected in Religious Education was continued by a report about a ten-hour seminar on "Ecumenism and Racial Prejudice" during the 1966 Convention of the Religious Education Association.¹²⁸ One of the issues discussed was racism in the media. Textbooks and television must correct the inferior self-image in Negro children and the superior self-image in white children.

A 1967 article on Native Americans by Allen Nephew was the only article about another minority group during this

¹²⁵ Joseph R. Washington, "Blacker White Mission," Religious Education 58 (1963): 285-88.

¹²⁶ Daniel W. Wynn, "Do Negroes Lack a Sense of Mission?" Religious Education 59 (1964): 168-170.

¹²⁷ Joseph R. Washington, Jr., "Revolution Not Resuscitation," Religious Education 59 (1964): 171-73.

¹²⁸ Roland R. Ost, reporter, "Ecumenism and Racial Prejudice," Religious Education 62 (1967): 159-61.

Civil Rights era between 1963-1979. An editorial comment preceding this article made an insightful statement:

The most neglected and misunderstood people in the nation and church is the American Indian. Even his [sic] identity as "Indian" is based on a mistake. In this article we have a first-hand look at the current situation. The author is able to write both as an American ("What can WE do about the Indian?") and as an Indian ("What are you doing to US?")¹²⁹

Although desiring Native Americans to become indigenous, the church was distrusted along with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Both institutions worked together to Americanize the Indian in a paternalistic manner. An indigenous Indian Christianity may result if there is an equal partnership between churches and native Americans.

The 1969 Convention

This Convention of the Religious Education Association in 1969 was a watershed event in its history. It attracted over 1500 people which was the largest number that attended an REA convention since the 1920s.

Organizing this event was the last task of Herman Wornom, the general secretary of the REA since 1953. He resigned because his wording of the theme "Religious Education--A Unifying Force in a Divided Society" was rejected. The executive committee changed to: "Our Divided Society: A Challenge to Religious Education." This was the only time that a serious conflict arose between Wornom and

¹²⁹ Allen L. Nephew, "Christian Education and the American Indian," Religious Education 62 (1967): 503.

his REA colleagues. According to Stephen Schmidt, Wornom

wanted this convention, like others, indeed like the major Wornom moderate agenda, to unify this broken, shaking society....it [the convention] would shake the very foundations of the association that he sought so valiantly to protect and nurture....Strange irony that what set out to be a unifying experience became a shattering experience, and precisely because of some of the best planning of his entire career.¹³⁰

This 1969 Convention took place the year after Martin Luther King was assassinated and when the Kerner Commission Report cited that white racism was the principle cause of riots in Newark, Detroit, and Cleveland in 1967. Another conclusion was that the United States was headed toward two communities, "one white, one black, separate and unequal." In 1969, the Supreme Court ruled unanimously that school districts must end racial segregation.

In reflecting these turbulent times, controversial social topics such as racism were included in the convention and its seminars. The result was tension, conflict, anger, and challenging criticisms of the church and the REA. According to Schmidt, the REA "was being challenged to change its neutral role, to take public positions, to become active in the pursuit of the goals of political activism, especially on the issues of race, the war, and alienated youth."¹³¹

¹³⁰ Schmidt, 181.

¹³¹ Schmidt, 184.

The Preconvention and Convention Issues

In the preconvention issue (Sept.-Oct. 1969), background material was provided for the 1969 Convention. The hope of the editor, Randolph C. Miller, was "to present a few points of view, most of them one-sided to some of our readers, but all of them digging into the heart of the matter."¹³² This issue of Religious Education broke a longstanding tradition by reprinting articles from other sources in order to prepare its readers for the Convention.

James Baldwin's article was his 1968 address "White Racism or World Community?" which was given to the World Council of Churches in Uppsala, Sweden. From his experience as the son of a minister, Baldwin was critical of the white Christ that he was presented. He gave reasons why white Christianity was problematic to blacks:

It was very difficult to become a Christian if you were a black man on a slave ship, and the slave ship was called "The Good Ship Jesus"....the revolution which was begun two thousand years ago by a disreputable Hebrew criminal may now have to be begun again by people equally disreputable and equally improbable....the destruction of the Christian Church as it is presently constituted may not only be desirable but necessary.¹³³

It was to Randolph C. Miller's credit that he selected Baldwin's article when many of its readers would have

¹³² Randolph C. Miller, "Editorial," Religious Education 64 (1969): 338.

¹³³ James Baldwin, "White Racism or World Community," Religious Education 64 (1969): 343. This was reprinted from The Ecumenical Review.

considered it "one-sided."

Rosemary Reuther's article, "Black Theology and Black Church," was critical of the black church because it "has often overvalued the dominant culture and undervalued and despised its own traditions and self-expression."¹³⁴ Yet she advocated black theology because it was universal, reconciling, neither racist nor alienating, and was relevant to blacks:

[T]he gospel rightfully comes to black men in the form of a black Messiah, not in an exclusive or racist sense, but in the sense of a historical contextualism that leaves open to every people a salvation that encounters their situation.¹³⁵

Both Baldwin's and Reuther's articles broke new ground for Religious Education by introducing the themes of black church and black theology in addition to continuing the theme of institutional racism. These themes would be further explored in the 1969 Convention issue and be continued throughout the 1970s in Religious Education.
Institutional Racism

The symposium on the 1969 Convention topics featured two articles on institutional racism. Joseph Johnson, compared white racism to a national cancer because it had deep roots in the basic institutions of this country. The cumulative effects of institutional racism on blacks were

¹³⁴ Rosemary Reuther, "Black Theology and Black Church," Religious Education 64 (1969): 347. This was reprinted from America.

¹³⁵ Reuther, 350.

spelled out in detail.

[T]he systematic destruction of family life and cultural unity; the ruthless assault on personality structure; the denial of manhood and womanhood; the disruption of family and community life; the crippling experience of exclusion from educational and technical training and employment; and the destruction of personality by the brutalized climate of force and violence designed to maintain racial structures intact.¹³⁶

To counteract racism, according to Johnson, black self-love was needed which can develop black community and, in turn, can lead to universal community.

The other article in this symposium dealt with the effects of institutional racism on sex education programs in black ghettos. According to Thomas Brown, they will not succeed unless its socio-economic conditions are changed.¹³⁷ Brown cautioned that black youth's deviance from middle-class values is "not the result of moral degeneracy. Instead, they are consequences of and adaptations to the intolerable conditions of life for the Negro in the ghetto."¹³⁸

The Mar.-Apr. 1970 issue of Religious Education contained the 1969 Convention reports in which three addresses and four seminars focused on institutional racism.

¹³⁶ Joseph A. Johnson, Jr., "The Imperative of Beyondness," Religious Education 64 (1969): 435.

¹³⁷ Thomas Edwards Brown, "Sex Education and Life in the Black Ghetto," Religious Education 64 (1969): 450-58. This was reprinted from Pastoral Psychology.

¹³⁸ Thomas Brown, 457.

In the first address, Alvin Pitcher, professor at the University of Chicago Divinity School, advocated compensatory opportunities for blacks to insure equality of results. Because of the 300 years of economic injustice for blacks, special and unequal opportunities must be created for them. Only this can ensure equality of economic power between whites and blacks.

[U]nless you have special opportunity you will inch along, and if you have been crawling and other people have been running, it takes a jet to catch up. And that jet is special, compensatory opportunity. It is discrimination in reverse. I do not want to make any mistake about what we are doing. It's unAmerican; it's probably unconstitutional.¹³⁹

Jesse Jackson's address to the Convention dealt with racism in white churches and seminaries. Both have failed God by supporting the economic status quo which forced blacks into inferior positions and exploited their labor.

The black community demands reparations. We are not asking for reverse racism or reverse discrimination. Compensation, though, is the answer to discrimination, and compensation is a very positive term....if you have inherited the plantation and yet now you no longer run the plantation, you're just as guilty, just as wrong as the one who owned it.¹⁴⁰

In his rhetoric, Jackson viewed racism as "skin worship; racism is replacing the golden calf with a pink skin."¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Alvin Pitcher, "White Racism and Black Development" Religious Education 65 (1970): 86.

¹⁴⁰ Jesse Jackson, "Christianity, the Church, and Racism," Religious Education 65 (1970): 91.

¹⁴¹ Jesse Jackson, 96.

Whitney Young, the director of the National Urban League, gave the concluding address.¹⁴² By using demonstrations, boycotts, and even violent means to change their status, blacks were following an American tradition of activism and protest. Yet there will be resistance by the "selfish majority."

If and when there is a decision made by someone that Black people should be put in concentration camps, like we did the Japanese-Americans.... the reason they won't move in with fire power to shoot down Blacks who are demanding their rights is that when they look through the sights of the gun and they get ready to corral the people to go to the concentration camp, they will find their own children.¹⁴³

Young urged white religious educators to educate the silent majority about their racial myths and to seek social justice through the political process: "Power in the political sense often means conflict. And conflict is a phenomenon which educators tend to avoid. Yet the hammering out of social justice is primarily a matter of political processes."¹⁴⁴ Thus for Young, as for Paulo Freire, education is political.

Nine seminars about racism were offered and they were combined into three reports.¹⁴⁵ Each seminar consisted of

¹⁴² See Whitney Young, "Working Together for Our Common Humanity," Religious Education 65 (1970): 140-44.

¹⁴³ Young, 142.

¹⁴⁴ Young, 143-44.

¹⁴⁵ The fourth seminar report, "Black Religious Experience," did not specifically deal with racism.

four sessions lasting about ten hours.

"White Racism: Institutional, Cultural, Personal" was concerned about the overt and covert kinds of racism which manifests in white superiority. Whites "do not need to discriminate directly against non-whites; the institutions in American society discriminate for them."¹⁴⁶ For example, due to poor educational opportunities for blacks, public schools "operate as the discriminating agent for a series of other institutions"¹⁴⁷ such as universities and businesses where blacks were unqualified to enter. The subtle dynamics of institutional racism were well-described:

A cycle of institutional racism develops in which the racial screens are diffused throughout a series of major institutions. It becomes difficult to isolate the specific structure which discriminates.¹⁴⁸

The second report "Black Power and Black Development" combined the findings of six seminars.¹⁴⁹ Black Power was gaining economic and political power in order that blacks can deal with whites from a position of strength. The liberating power of God can be seen in the Black Power movement which religious educators should affirm when it

¹⁴⁶ Edwin McLane, reporter, "White Racism-- Institutional, Cultural, Personal," Religious Education 65 (1970): 146.

¹⁴⁷ McLane, 147.

¹⁴⁸ McLane, 147.

¹⁴⁹ Lawrence C. Little, reporter, "Black Power and Black Development," Religious Education 65 (1970): 154-59.

expresses the will of the people and when reparations are demanded:

The terms "reparations," "restitution," and "compensatory opportunity" represent legitimate movement toward equality for minority groups in spite of the difficulties many present holders of power may have in seeing its equitable distribution....The idea of compensation should be accepted as well as interpreted in all churches and synagogues.¹⁵⁰

The third seminar report was on "Education to Counter Racism." It observed that whites seldom recognize the presence of racism in their lives. Yet they tolerate and participate in institutions that perpetuate racism. However, the report noted:

Yet only twenty-five of approximately 1500 convention participants elected to spend their seminar time considering action to solve the white problem. Raising the question, "Why," was the significant accomplishment of this group.¹⁵¹

After the 1969 Convention was concluded, a long list of recommendations that was presented to the REA's board of directors by Herman Wornom. If adopted, these recommendations would drastically change the goals and future of the REA. Although Wornom wanted the REA to be more activist in social concerns, Randolph C. Miller believed that the REA cannot bind its members to resolutions. For Schmidt, the "choice for the seventies lay somewhere between Miller's cautious interpretation of the

¹⁵⁰ Little, 158.

¹⁵¹ Sr. Oliveria Barrett, reporter, "Education to Counter Racism," Religious Education 65 (1970): 192.

vision of the REA and Wornom's more socially oriented passion."¹⁵²

The theme of institutional racism was continued after the 1969 Convention. In an address to the 1973 International Convention of the REA, Catherine Smith gave statistical evidence to show how minorities are denied equal opportunity in institutions and were victims of shocking disparities.

Implications have been made that institutional racism is a process of genocide for oppressed people....As long as drugs were destroying minorities of inner urban communities, programs of prevention and rehabilitation were of little concern to the power people. When the drug problem became rampant in suburbs, a narcotic crisis was declared.¹⁵³

According to Wayne Johnson in a 1973 article,¹⁵⁴ racism in the church is a real possibility if the majority of its members use religion as a means toward status, business contacts, fellowship, and for other personal needs. Johnson calls these people "instrumentalists": they are

with the church because of non-religious identity factors--social status, national extraction, etc.....he defines "brother" essentially in non-

¹⁵² Schmidt, 185.

¹⁵³ Catherine H. Smith, "Institutional Racism: A Major Urban Educational Problem," Religious Education 69 (1974): 724.

¹⁵⁴ Wayne G. Johnson, "Religion, Racism, and Self-Image: The Significance of Belief," Religious Education 68 (1973): 620-30.

religious terms, and thus draws the circle of his "tribe."¹⁵⁵

According to Johnson, a small minority in a church are "devotionalists" who do have a wider religious definition of brotherhood that goes beyond these human factors and thus are less susceptible to prejudicial feelings.

Black Church

Following Rosemary Reuther's 1969 article, more articles appeared in Religious Education about the black church. Two articles concerning the black church were included in the symposium on the 1969 Convention topics.

For C. D. Coleman, the black church has imitated the white middle-class church and disdained elements of black culture such as spirituals. The black church must be the center and the protector of the black community by becoming "black again and be the champion and expression of black people."¹⁵⁶

In the second article, Andrew White observed that both the black church and young black activists mutually need each other. Both have worked for the same goals of freedom and equal opportunity. "Black youth need the church because it is the most stable revolutionary base which black people

¹⁵⁵ Wayne Johnson, 628.

¹⁵⁶ C. D. Coleman, "Agenda for the Black Church," Religious Education 64 (1969): 444.

have developed and still control."¹⁵⁷

The theme of the black church continued after the 1969 Convention. In a 1972 article, Olivia Stokes of the National Council of Churches was concerned about the "unique role of the Black educator today, in helping people make sense out of their oppressive experience, in the perspective of the Christian faith, is to teach liberation."¹⁵⁸ Thus black educators must teach the liberative insights of black theology.

In the July-Aug. 1974 issue of Religious Education, there was a symposium on "Education in the Black Church." Three articles about black religious education and one article on black theology were featured. In addition to the 1964 issue on "Race Relations and Religious Education" and the two issues dealing with the 1969 Convention, this was the last issue devoted to African Americans during Randolph C. Miller's twenty years as editor of Religious Education (1958-1978).

Three articles in this 1974 symposium focused on education in the black church. Lonzy Edwards gave the historical context of black religious education before and

¹⁵⁷ Andrew White, "Why the Church Should Evangelize Black Youth," Religious Education 64 (1969): 448.

¹⁵⁸ Olivia Pearl Stokes, "Blacks, Engagement, and Action," Religious Education 67 (1972): 22.

after the Civil War.¹⁵⁹ Slaves were kept illiterate because it was feared they would read anti-slavery literature. Yet even though "religious instruction was originally controlled by Whites, Blacks had begun to assume most of the responsibility for their religious instruction near the end of Reconstruction."¹⁶⁰

For Calvin Bruce, black religious education must help blacks actualize psychic liberation "in order to become their true religious selves."¹⁶¹ This liberation gives them the freedom to love and be loved and to lovingly worship God. Worship can affirm black self-worth because it is a reminder of God's love and care.

Olivia Stokes described a Saturday "ethnic school" in Los Angeles which focused on black history, black experience and could

become the Black Resource Center and the transmitter of African culture and the Afro-American heritage for Black Americans. Within a Christian faith grounded in the indigenous Black community, the growth of Black pride, self-esteem and self-development could take place in a loving rather than a hostile climate.¹⁶²

Liberation education would be used, not the traditional

¹⁵⁹ Lonzy Edwards, "Religious Education by Blacks During Reconstruction," Religious Education 69 (1974): 412-21.

¹⁶⁰ Edwards, 420.

¹⁶¹ Calvin E. Bruce, "Refocusing Black Religious Education: Three Imperatives," Religious Education 69 (1974): 421.

¹⁶² Olivia Pearl Stokes, "Education in the Black Church: Design for Change," Religious Education 69 (1974): 441.

"banking" concept of teaching. Structurally, the traditional Sunday School would merge with this Saturday ethnic school in order to provide "a single Christian education thrust to interpret the emerging theology of the Black experience in America."¹⁶³

Black Theology

In comparison to the black church, black theology was less emphasized as only two more articles appeared in Religious Education after Rosemary Reuther's 1969 article. William Jones stated, in a 1972 article, that black theology challenged traditional theology because it viewed liberation as a prerequisite for reconciliation.¹⁶⁴ However, reconciliation with whites does not mean that blacks commit cultural genocide since Gal.3:28 does not erase racial differences.

In the 1974 symposium on "Education in the Black Church," Enoch Oglesby compared the theologies of Martin Luther King and James Cone.

While Cone's primary concern is black liberation from white oppression, the themes of "confrontation," "engagement," and "reconciliation" are major emphases in the ethical and theological thought of King.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ Stokes, "Education," 444.

¹⁶⁴ William Jones, "Reconciliation and Liberation in Black Theology: Some Implications for Religious Education," Religious Education 67 (1972): 383-89.

¹⁶⁵ Enoch H. Oglesby, "Ethical and Educational Implications of Black Theology in America," Religious Education 69 (1974): 404.

Black theology resulted from the failure of white theology to deal with the revolutionary demands of Christianity to end repression, poverty, and institutional racism.

According to Oglesby, the educational implications of black theology were: (1) white designed programs were "dysfunctional" in the black church, (2) the word "black" must be redeemed from negative Western stereotypes, and (3) an emphasis on the more experiential and celebrative side of the Christian faith.

A Paucity of Black Issues: 1975-1979

After this explosion of articles between 1964 and 1974 on institutional racism, the black church, and black theology, only three articles about African Americans appeared from 1975 to 1979. These dealt with the spirituals, Martin Luther King, and the status of blacks. The impetus of the civil rights movement was slowly dissipating by the end of the 1970s which was reflected in the pages of Religious Education.

The religious language as sung in the spirituals according to Calvin Bruce in 1976, emphasized that they

are a special brand of theology-in-song. As such, they immediately capture the reality of religious experience. The actuality of faith to which they testify mirrors the genuineness of religious words that issue from our souls.¹⁶⁶

Brian Haggerty in a 1978 article showed how Martin

¹⁶⁶ Calvin E. Bruce, "Black Spirituality, Language and Faith," Religious Education 71 (1976): 375.

Luther King was an exemplary and model teacher.¹⁶⁷ Yet King's potential as a creative religious educator went unfulfilled because he devoted his life to the civil rights movement.

Olivia Stokes second article in 1979¹⁶⁸ measured the bleak status of blacks in the areas of housing, employment, education, health care, crime, and politics. The one improved area was the growing numbers of middle-class blacks but this has caused class divisions. Issues of race, gender, class, justice, and liberation need to be seriously studied by religious educators.

Japanese American Buddhists

During this period of civil rights between 1963 and 1979, only one article was devoted to another minority group: Japanese Americans. A 1979 inter-religious article by Haruo Yamaoka et al. favorably compared Japanese American Buddhist youth with Christian youth.¹⁶⁹ Using a questionnaire, this study found that for Buddhist youth:

- (1) their ethnic identity was significantly more important,
- (2) they sought counsel from parents and relatives more

¹⁶⁷ Brian A. Haggerty, "Martin Luther King, Jr.: Role Model for Religious Educators," Religious Education 73 (1978): 60-68.

¹⁶⁸ Olivia Pearl Stokes, "Black American Status," Religious Education 74 (1979): 471-80.

¹⁶⁹ Haruo Yamaoka, David S. Stewart, Margaret S. Steward, "Defining New Buddhist Education: A Study of Japanese American Buddhist and Christian Youth," Religious Education 74 (1979): 295-303.

often, (3) they had more frequent friendships developing from school and the temple/church, (4) they were more concerned about society, and (5) the temple/church met their needs and expectations significantly more than for Christian youth.

Conclusion

This Civil Rights era from 1963-1979 was the apex in the history of Religious Education in terms of the number and quality of African American issues. While Randolph C. Miller was editor during this period, he may be criticized for only having two issues that focused on black issues, in addition to the two issues devoted to the 1969 Convention. Nevertheless, the most number of articles about African Americans did appear during Miller's term as editor.

From Civil Rights to Multiculturalism: 1980-1994

This fifth era in Religious Education from 1980-1994, was a transitional period from an emphasis on civil rights for blacks towards a broadening of perspective. No longer did African American issues dominate since only two articles (in 1986 and 1992) appeared that were on black issues. Other racial-ethnic minority groups, who had been invisible since the February 1931 issue (with the exception of Japanese Americans), finally received attention. What also emerged during this time were articles that had a broader multicultural perspective which encompassed more than one minority group.

Native Americans

A series of three articles by June and Taylor McConnell about cross-cultural family ministry focused on the Pueblo Indians. The first article in 1981 gave a historical background to the Pueblo Indians, the Spanish, and the Anglos in northern New Mexico. The McConnells research objective was to strengthen family life by finding structures which would correspond to their values. "It is our hypothesis that we do not need to teach people how to do this. All three cultures have families that can teach each other and learn from each other the values of their own lifestyles."¹⁷⁰

The McConnells' second article dealt specifically with the Pueblo Indians.¹⁷¹ In contrast to Anglos, the Pueblos are an oral culture, possess a monistic worldview, and have elaborate rites of passage for children. They also have more physical-spiritual connection by employing dance and pageantry in their worship. The majority cultures need the continued survival of the Pueblos for "if all the minority cultures of the world are swept away by the power of the dominant technocratic culture, we invite catastrophe."¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ June McConnell and Taylor McConnell, "Family Ministry Through Cross-Cultural Education," Religious Education 76 (1981): 276.

¹⁷¹ Taylor McConnell, "Cross-Cultural Ministries with Families," Religious Education 79 (1984): 353-66.

¹⁷² Taylor McConnell, 366.

Their final report in 1991 gave its conclusions for their "Culture Bridging Work" project.¹⁷³ There were needs for (1) attitudes of respect, humility, and love, (2) cross-cultural friendships, (3) long-term approaches, and (4) a support network for cross-cultural ministers.

Latinos

Daniel Erdman, in a 1983 article, wrote about rural Latino youth in northern New Mexico who faced an identity crisis due to bicultural conflict. Their identity can "be found in solidarity with a community of justice."¹⁷⁴ An educating faith community is needed in order to achieve identity and liberation.

Japanese Americans

In a 1985 article, Randall Furushima tested whether Fowler's developmental theories would apply to Japanese American Buddhists in Hawaii.¹⁷⁵ He discovered that Fowler's theory needed to deepen its social aspects of faith by having a focus on family history and community relationships. According to Furushima: "Those interviewed revealed their faith to be inarticulate without the voices

¹⁷³ Taylor McConnell and June McConnell, "Cross-Cultural Ministry with Church and Family: The Final Report of a Research Project," Religious Education 86 (1991): 581-96.

¹⁷⁴ Daniel Erdman, "Liberation and Identity: Indo-Hispano Youth," Religious Education 78 (1983): 83.

¹⁷⁵ Randall Y. Furushima, "Faith Development in a Cross-Cultural Perspective," Religious Education 80 (1985): 414-20.

and influence of family members, peers, and mentors."¹⁷⁶

In addition, historical events such as the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II must be included to understand the formation of their personal and social faith identities. The author concluded that Fowler's "projected claim of universality for faith development theory can be partially substantiated."¹⁷⁷

Chinese Americans

After the February 1931 issue of Religious Education, the next article on Chinese Americans appeared in 1989 (58 years later) by the journal's first Asian American woman writer, Greer Anne Ng.¹⁷⁸ She compared Chinese festivals with the Christian liturgical year. An understanding of these festivals can result in a "stronger cultural identity for Chinese Christians [and] will make them stronger, not weaker, Christians."¹⁷⁹ Thus Chinese festivals could also provide educational content for celebrative intergenerational events.

In 1992, Greer Anne Ng wrote another article about the educational needs of the North American Asian immigrant families who are confronted with the acculturation issue:

¹⁷⁶ Furushima, 418.

¹⁷⁷ Furushima, 420.

¹⁷⁸ Greer Anne Ng, "The Dragon and the Lamb: Chinese Festivals in the Life of Chinese Canadian/American Christians," Religious Education 84 (1989): 368-83.

¹⁷⁹ Greer Ng, 369.

how to be Chinese in a non-Chinese society. Ng asked:

How should a young person behave when, to survive and thrive in the dominant culture, one is required to be independent and autonomous, to express ideas and feelings openly and indeed assertively, and to operate on assumptions of gender equality, while at home there is a whole set of expectations and pressures to the contrary?¹⁸⁰

Church educators must help Asian and other immigrant families reclaim their cultural heritage. This can include congregational celebrations of Asian cultural festivals or supporting a Chinese language school. Curriculum editors and writers can "include situations of Asian (as well as native, Black, Hispanic) families in their regular units and lessons, rather than delegate them to special units on multiculturalism or ethnic concerns."¹⁸¹ Examples could be: caring for aged parents, living in a three-generation family, and dealing with one's extended family when teaching marriage enrichment.

African Americans

According to Ella Mitchell, in a 1986 article, the oral tradition in the black church was due to its African tradition of drumming, dancing, and narration. These stories, songs, and proverbs played a vital part in learning

¹⁸⁰ Greer Anne Ng, "Family and Education from an Asian North-American Perspective: Implications for the Church's Educational Ministry," Religious Education 87 (1992): 56.

¹⁸¹ Greer Ng, "Family and Education," 59.

the values of society.¹⁸² Because there was no large-scale missionary movement among the slaves,

Black Christianity in the 19th Century was surely the result of their own initiative, creativity, and adaptability, operating on an African culture base plus their own awesomely correct biblical interpretations.¹⁸³

After the Civil War, hundreds of Sunday schools were established and were found in all black churches. Yet the recent decline of the Black Sunday schools was due to their dependence "on the externals of early White Sunday schools as a model....It bore little resemblance to the extended-family mentality of African-Americans."¹⁸⁴ The oral tradition was neglected while the printed Sunday school material was emphasized. The irony was that the most productive time of education in the Black church was during Reconstruction:

The most effective teaching and learning occurred at precisely the least promising time. The survival and sanity, the faith and perseverance of millions of Black and oppressed are mute testimony to a system of instruction well worth this historical examination and much more.¹⁸⁵

J. Deotis Roberts' highly critical article about the racism found in seminaries was the only article in the 1990s

¹⁸² Ella P. Mitchell, "Oral Tradition: Legacy of Faith for the Black Church, "Religious Education 81 (1986): 93-112.

¹⁸³ Ella Mitchell, 100.

¹⁸⁴ Ella Mitchell, 110.

¹⁸⁵ Ella Mitchell, 112.

on African Americans.¹⁸⁶ Most seminaries do not extend faculty or administrative positions to blacks so they remain white. Instead of leading the way in the area of racial justice, seminaries fall far behind secular academic institutions. "Women's issues (mainly the concerns of white women) and even cross-cultural studies and globalization have overshadowed the reality of blatant racism in theological schools."¹⁸⁷ Seminaries can easily hide behind piety and spirituality according to Roberts.

Even in the heyday of affirmative action, based on quotas and other incentives, seminaries were at best lukewarm in the quest for social justice. Theological institutions did not have to worry about sanctions based upon law or government contracts. If the denominations supporting them did not advocate racial justice, they did not need to seek fairness or justice in the area of race.¹⁸⁸

Multiculturalism

In addition to these articles that focused on one particular minority group, this period between 1980 and 1994 included articles that dealt with multicultural issues. They went beyond the issues of a single racial-ethnic group and thus dealt with broader issues which encompassed all minority groups. Two issues that illustrate this were the 1992 issue on "Multicultural Religious Education" and the

¹⁸⁶ J. Deotis Roberts, "And We Are Not Saved: A Black Theologian Looks at Theological Education," Religious Education 87 (1992): 353-69.

¹⁸⁷ Roberts, 358.

¹⁸⁸ Roberts, 362.

1993 issue on "Ethnicity and Gender in Multicultural Religious Education."

Worldwide racism in children's books (except Asia) were the subject of a 1981 book review. It found that "through the language, imagery, historical accounts, role models, and cultural references conveyed in these books, children are taught that certain racial and national peoples are dominant while others are subordinate."¹⁸⁹ Racism becomes more subtle and sophisticated and reflects the norms of society and perpetuates it. This not only victimizes minority groups, but also the majority group. The need is for "anti-racist" children's books because the child needs "to learn about various forms of oppression so that they can work positively for justice."¹⁹⁰

Ethnocentrism within United Methodist curriculum materials for children was the subject of Charles Foster's 1987 article on ethnocentrism in United Methodist curriculum.¹⁹¹ Because of its insightfulness, there will be an in-depth analysis of Foster's article.

Foster discerned three approaches to ethnicity in Methodist curriculum: the melting pot, cultural pluralism,

¹⁸⁹ Bertrice Y. Wood, "Essay Review: The Slant of the Pen: Racism in Children's Books," Religious Education 76 (1981): 222.

¹⁹⁰ Beatrice Wood, 224.

¹⁹¹ Charles R. Foster, "Double Messages: Ethnocentrism in Church Education," Religious Education 82 (1987): 447-67.

and multiculturalism. The melting pot imagery was dominant which presupposed that non-European cultures would assimilate and be recast into an Anglo-Saxon mold.

Although the blatant forms of this model began to be modified during the 1920's, the Anglo-Saxon model of identity dominated Sunday school literature from the mid-nineteenth century until the 1960's. Jesus was consistently depicted as white, with light colored hair and North European features.¹⁹²

Sunday school children were taught to help young European immigrants become good Americans. However, writers and editors viewed racial-ethnic minorities in the United States as outsiders. "Instead, color served as a clear boundary preventing their assimilation. The melting pot, in other words, had limits."¹⁹³

Cultural stereotypes were abundant. Black men were invisible except in stories about slavery or servanthood. Black women were also portrayed as servants, but were viewed affectionately and sentimentally. "The Native Americans to the contrary was romanticized. For the first half of the century the Native American almost dominated the story pages of children's church resources."¹⁹⁴

Around the turn of the century, much attention was given to stories about China or Japan, but there was little mention of the Asian American experience. In a 1891 picture

¹⁹² Foster, "Double Messages," 452.

¹⁹³ Foster, "Double Messages," 457.

¹⁹⁴ Foster, "Double Messages," 455.

lesson story, the following poem accompanied a picture of two white girls in a Chinese laundry.

"Good morning, Mr. Wing Won Woo;
We do not wish to trouble you,
But have you time, do you suppose,
This week to do my dolly's clothes?"
He saw the little mother stand,
The tiny parcel in her hand.
"I will," said he, and kindly smiled;
"I love to please a little child."¹⁹⁵

The choice of a Chinese laundry was understandable since this was a familiar context for social interaction with the Chinese in America. Yet it was a stereotypical Chinese image in the minds of many Euro-Americans. Because the Chinese were driven out of other occupations by the white labor movement, laundries and restaurants were among the few economic niches that the Chinese were allowed to operate where they would not be a competitive threat. Another possible stereotypical image was Mr. Woo's serving and pleasing the little girl. This can evoke a childlike image of the Chinese, an image that was also used to depict Native Americans, African Americans, and Mexican Americans.

Foster's second approach of cultural pluralism affirmed the importance of maintaining, not rejecting, one's ethnic identity. However, Anglo-Saxon values were still seen as superior and paternalism becomes more subtle.

The first story of an Afro-American child appeared in 1931. Although set in a stereotypical rural southern setting, it projected the experience of

¹⁹⁵ Foster, "Double Messages," 456.

Afro-American children as an appropriate subject for a story.¹⁹⁶

During the 1950s, there was a significant increase of articles and pictures about blacks, Mexican Americans and Native Americans. Yet during this time, Asian Americans were almost invisible.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the Presbyterian Faith and Life Series, the Episcopal Seabury Series, and the Cooperative Curriculum Project were innovative projects that were inclusive of racial-ethnic groups that were previously excluded. According to Foster:

Classrooms included children from different racial backgrounds. If an illustration called for a family scene, a doctor, a teacher, or a nurse, the subject was no longer necessarily Euro-American, but chosen from a variety of racial backgrounds.¹⁹⁷

During the civil rights era, the church school curriculum reflected the United Methodist's explicit rejection of racism by emphasizing racial inclusiveness in pictures and stories and by seeking racial-ethnic writers and editors. The persistent theme that all persons are equal because they are the children of God. But Foster noted that:

[T]he cultural heritages of these racial groups continued to be invisible, except for the most obvious symbols: Afro hair styles, the use of spirituals, guidance in using Mexican American rituals. During these years the church focused on

¹⁹⁶ Foster, "Double Messages," 458-59.

¹⁹⁷ Foster, "Double Messages," 459.

the participation of racial ethnic groups, not their identity or their contribution to some emerging new sense of corporate life.¹⁹⁸

The Methodist curriculum did not reflect racial-ethnic values and perspectives even in the contributions of minority writers. The denomination attempted to produce curricular resources for the different ethnic churches, but the language and cultural differences within Asian Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans posed problems for curricular development. These racially specific resources did not include the quest for ethnic identity. They ignored the ethnic diversity within these racial groups such as their national or tribal origins.

Foster's third pattern of multicultural pluralism began in the 1970s and has begun to slowly influence church curriculum. In survey of children's curriculum, this new principle was becoming evident.

It assumes that our cultural particularities reveal the universality of God....The location of the story is rarely named so as to identify whether the people involved are "insiders" or "outsiders." Non-Euro-American names are used without a statement describing the source or meaning of the name. They are not labelled "strange" or "foreign." Non-English words are interspersed throughout the text in the conversation of the people in the stories. Cultural differences are displayed as facts of life rather than as items of curiosity.¹⁹⁹

Yet the oldest approach of assimilation continued to

¹⁹⁸ Foster, "Double Messages," 460.

¹⁹⁹ Foster, "Double Messages," 463-64.

influence the newer approaches of cultural pluralism and multicultural pluralism in contemporary church curriculum. Thus for Foster, ethnocentrism continues to be a danger which perpetuates racism and injustice. He concluded:

The curricular resources for our children reflect the continuing struggle of the church over what it means to be inclusive of people from different ethnic heritages. A multicultural perspective may provide an alternative to the emphases upon racial boundaries separating peoples from diverse ethnic cultures.²⁰⁰

"Multicultural Religious Education" was the theme for the spring 1992 issue of Religious Education. Three multicultural articles were included including a review essay that recommended books for developing multicultural religious education.²⁰¹

In the guest editorial, Charles Foster observed that multicultural education will "transform the way we understand the tasks of forming, sustaining, and renewing community life. The literature is scant. The exploration is still tentative."²⁰²

Jesus and the Samaritan woman was a model for

²⁰⁰ Foster, "Double Messages," 467.

²⁰¹ Robert W. Pazmino, Jennifer Jue, Nelson T. Strobert, Greer Anne Ng, and Karen Tye, "A Review of Selected Books for the Study of Multicultural Religious Education," Religious Education 87 (1992): 203-17.

²⁰² Charles R. Foster, "Guest Editorial," Religious Education 87 (1992): 171.

intercultural communication in Marina Herrera's article.²⁰³

Jesus acknowledged his need for the woman, accepted the woman as being equal in power, and recognized that he had entered her territory. Unlike Jesus, however, Europeans came to the Americas and

did not acknowledge the legitimacy of the way the inhabitants related to the land, their customs, institutions, or technology. They did not ask for water but took it (among other things) and eliminated or subjugated anyone who stood in the way of their getting what they wanted....and forced the natives and all those they enslaved to work for the satisfaction of their insatiable material needs.²⁰⁴

With few exception, European missionaries could not dialogue or compromise with the natives who were viewed as inferior. The religious and political history of Europe created "a fighting psyche that seemed to be fulfilled only on a battlefield. The Americans offered the Europeans the largest battlefield they had ever played on."²⁰⁵

A most comprehensive article was by David Ng showed how a multicultural perspective can enrich our biblical interpretation.

People do not need to be Jewish or practice Mosaic law to be Christians (which can be read to say, "You don't have to be Euro-American or practice 'WASP' ways to be Christian"). Racial/ethnic

²⁰³ Marina Herrera, "Meeting Cultures at the Well," Religious Education 87 (1992): 173-80.

²⁰⁴ Herrera, 179.

²⁰⁵ Herrera, 175

minority churches can come to the aid of majority churches.²⁰⁶

Ng developed a multicultural strategy in racial/ethnic congregations. He suggested that an initial task would be to help minority Christians understand their full humanity and to help validate their experiences and histories. Ng also urged majority congregations to understand "white privileges" with its assumptions of cultural imperialism and a monocultural society. For multicultural congregations, their task is to affirm pluralism and the acceptance of diverse people as part of God's creation.

The theme of the summer 1993 issue of Religious Education was "Ethnicity and Gender Issues in Multicultural Religious Education." Three articles were from a feminist perspective and one article by this writer that dealt with socio-historic dimensions of race and the development of a bicultural biblical hermeneutic.

In her Presidential Address, Susanne Johnson developed a position of critical pluralism which avoids the extremes of the traditionalists and the multiculturalists.²⁰⁷ The strategy was critical dialogue in which there is

critical appraisal of the truth claims not only in the other's position (from inside that position), but also critical appraisal of one's own culture,

²⁰⁶ David Ng, "Impelled Toward Multicultural Religious Education," Religious Education 87 (1992): 195.

²⁰⁷ Susanne Johnson, "Reshaping Religious and Theological Education in the 90's: Toward a Critical Pluralism," Religious Education 88 (1993): 335-49.

tradition, or position, as seen from the other's vantage point.²⁰⁸

This can be seen as a process of de-centering when one was willing to give up power and to place oneself at the margins. This was exemplified by the practice of hospitality.

The epistemological foundations of multicultural religious education was developed by Kate Siejk using feminist theorists.²⁰⁹ Knowledge is socially conditioned and must be expanded to include marginalized voices who are not white, male, and middle-class. Other forms of knowledge are communal and relational in the context of friendship and trust. Religious educators must have their epistemology influenced by learning about the lives of the marginalized and the oppressed.

Thus, integral to all good multicultural religious education would be the inclusion of the literature, artwork, and biographies of people who have been devalued or marginalized by dominant groups or structures.²¹⁰

The third article by Jennifer Jue urged that the voices of women of color must be developed and their experiences

²⁰⁸ Susanne Johnson, 340.

²⁰⁹ Kate Siejk, "An Aspect of Multicultural Religious Education: Re-visioning Our Epistemological Foundations," Religious Education 88 (1993): 434-50.

²¹⁰ Siejk, 450.

heard.²¹¹ A new language was created in which they named their world, their cultural identity, and developed their voice for liberation. The works of Sandra Cisneros, Maxine Hong Kingston, and Alice Walker can enrich a curriculum by encouraging cross-cultural dialogue and giving hope to other women to name their own reality. "As individuals begin to voice their realities and develop their own cultural identities, they become transformed and empowered to address ethnicity, gender, and class issues and confront racism and sexism in their own lives."²¹²

An article which appeared later in 1993 by Peter Ng developed a theology of multiculturalism through the pluralism in the Trinity, the Kingdom of God, and the church as recorded in the diverse traditions within the Bible.²¹³ Within a religious education program, multicultural knowledge, skills, and attitudes must be cultivated.

Conclusion

In its eighty-eighth year, Religious Education has printed 124 articles dealing with racial groups and multicultural issues. The breakdown of articles about each racial group is as follows:

²¹¹ Jennifer Jue, "Breaking the Silence: Women of Color and Issues of Voice and Cultural Identity," Religious Education 88 (1993): 451-63.

²¹² Jue, 463.

²¹³ Peter Tze Ming Ng, "Toward a New Agenda for Religious Education in a Multicultural Society," Religious Education 88 (1993): 585-94.

1. African Americans:	69 articles
2. Native Americans:	7 articles
3. Latinos:	3 articles
4. Japanese Americans:	3 articles
5. Chinese Americans:	3 articles

For the broader categories:

6. intergroup education	12 articles
7. race relations	12 articles
8. multicultural education	9 articles
9. children	6 articles

This distribution of articles clearly reveals an uneven and inconsistent record. Particularly important to the Religious Education discussion were the eight issues devoted to race.²¹⁴ It was in these issues that the majority of the articles were found. The decade between 1964 and 1974 was the high point for articles on African Americans as this was the time of the civil rights movement.

Yet years passed in many cases when no article appeared on a particular racial-ethnic minority group. With the exception of the 1931 issue, Religious Education, as well as the Religious Education Association, generally followed the social trends of the times. According to Schmidt, between 1952 and 1970, the "prophetic ideals of Coe and Harper became domesticated, adaption became a way of institutional life."²¹⁵

With the possible exception of Charles Foster's 1987 article on ethnocentrism, race and racism has not been

²¹⁴ The years were 1931, 1944, 1945, 1964, 1969, 1970, 1992, and 1993.

²¹⁵ Schmidt, 174.

seriously considered in the theory and practice of religious education. It has not been viewed as a constant theme throughout the history of the United States. This might not have been the case if there were more efforts to recruit minority persons to submit articles. The two issues in 1992 and 1993 were encouraging in this regard because they did feature more minority authors, especially women of color.

At times, Religious Education has become prophetic. It featured its first black author in 1911 although its first Asian author did not appear until 1989. During the Depression years (1931), it devoted an entire issue to race relations, including Americans of Mexican, Chinese, Japanese, and African descent, in addition to Native Americans. Yet the next article on a minority group besides African Americans did not appear until twenty years later. The next article on Chinese Americans appeared fifty-eight years later in 1989!

From its beginnings in 1906, Religious Education has taken unsteady and inconsistent steps toward realizing the importance of racism in the church, in society, and in our history. Race will continue to exert its influence over us as we enter the twenty-first century.

CHAPTER 4

Chinese Immigrants in San Francisco

In the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century, over 70 percent of the Chinese immigrants to California came from just a few districts around Canton.¹ A Chinese immigrant invariably meant a Cantonese immigrant. To understand such a geographical concentration of Cantonese emigrants to America, one must examine the special place of Canton in Chinese history.

This chapter gives the reasons for Chinese emigration to America. Internal factors "pushed" them across the Pacific because of factors such as poverty and civil war. With the discovery of gold in California in 1848, this provided an external reason to "pull" them to America, which in Chinese literally means the "Mountain of Gold."

After the gold was exhausted, the Chinese helped build the transcontinental railroad. In laying track through the rugged Sierra Nevada mountains, Chinese labor provided almost 80% of the work force for the Union Pacific Railroad.

When this was completed, the Chinese provided a major labor force in the development of San Francisco's industries. In addition, they helped build the dikes in the

¹ For various estimates of Chinese immigrants, see Sucheng Chan, This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910 (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1986, 17.

Sacramento delta which transformed this region of swamps into productive farmland and thus laid the foundation for California's agricultural industry.

Despite this contribution in building California's infrastructure, the Chinese were unwelcome. Unlike European immigrants, they were denied naturalized citizenship and thus were deprived of their political rights. Wherever they worked, the Chinese encountered pervasive racism and violence which forced them to accept lower wages or be forced out of their jobs.

In response to this anti-Chinese sentiment, the Chinese sought refuge in San Francisco's Chinatown. This provided them the services and the community organizations they needed to survive. In this context, mainline Protestant denominations established Chinese missions and churches. Within the churches, Chinese converts organized the Youxue Zhengdaohui which provided them with needed spiritual and social services. While only converting a tiny percentage of the population, the church nevertheless became a permanent part of Chinatown.

Reasons for Emigrating to the United States

Canton was the center of Chinese maritime trade with the outside world. When Europeans opened up China, it was natural that "Canton became a funnel through which Western influence penetrated the country."²

² Chan, This Bittersweet Soil, 7.

When China lost the first Opium War (1839-1842) to Great Britain, she was forced to grant heavy concessions. Among them were an indemnity of \$33 million, the island of Hong Kong, sharply limited custom duties of 5 percent, and the opening of five ports to Western trade so that Canton lost its foreign trade monopoly.³

This had a disastrous impact upon the economy of Canton as the feudal Chinese economy was undermined. Its cottage handicraft industry was no match for the cheap manufactured goods from Europe. The tax burden soared as China had to pay off its indemnity so that peasants lost their land. No longer did China enjoy a favorable balance of trade by exporting silk and tea since England now forced China to import larger quantities of opium.

Internal Causes

In the nineteenth century, China was in turmoil with its decaying feudal system under the declining Qing dynasty. With increasing taxes and inflation, anti-Qing societies flourished as people lost hope in their inept rulers who were constantly humiliated by Western powers. Peasant revolts were bloodily suppressed which culminated in the long Taiping Rebellion (1851-1864) which caused an estimated 25 million deaths.⁴ Although Canton was not a major

³ See Jack Chen, The Chinese of America (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1981), 8.

⁴ Chen, 9.

battlefield, the Taiping armies rampaged through some of the emigrant districts.

More destruction was caused in a local anti-Qing revolt lead by the Red Turban secret society. Government troops responded by de-populating whole villages. Simultaneously, a local civil war between two dialect groups, the Hakka and the Cantonese lasted from 1854-1868 and devastated the areas around the Pearl River delta. Thousands perished or were made homeless.

There were also an unusual number of natural disasters between 1833 and 1882 such as earthquakes, floods, plagues, droughts, and typhoons. In addition, there was overpopulation pressure in Canton which reached the "16 million mark in 1787 and 28 million in 1850."⁵

The coastal provinces of Canton and Fukien were geographically separated from the rest of China by mountains. They were not endowed with much arable land, most of which was owned by a few rich landlords. According to Shih-Shan Henry Tsai, "Much of the cultivated land, which as late as 1955 constituted only 16 percent of the total area, was used to grow such commercial crops as tobacco, sugar cane, and fruit instead of rice."⁶

This lack of agricultural land lead to a dependence

⁵ Shih-Shan Henry Tsai, The Chinese Experience in America (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1986), 3.

⁶ Tsai, Chinese Experience, 3.

upon the sea for fishing and trade. It also led to the development of an "early expertise in seafaring--a factor that facilitated overseas migration."⁷

Even though the Chinese government banned emigration as illegal, it was not only a gamble for a better life. It became the means of survival from the perils of civil war, revolution, overpopulation, hunger, and oppression. There was both a positive and negative aspects of emigration for the Chinese government. On the one hand, the emigrants' remittances sent to their families helped develop Canton such as providing schools and railroads. On the other hand, since Cantonese emigrants were influenced by democratic ideas,

they naturally supported the domestic revolutionaries' efforts to establish a modern government and democratic system in China that would protect their rights and interests both at home and abroad. Their efforts finally helped to topple the dynasty.⁸

Thus endemic war and famine pushed Cantonese immigrants to seek a better life overseas. Around the Pearl River Delta, less prosperous families sent their sons to distant lands for generations and depended upon their remittances. They usually went to the cities where their relatives had already settled. "Whole districts preferred specific

⁷ Chan, This Bittersweet Soil, 9.

⁸ Chen, 11.

settlements for their emigrants."⁹ Sucheng Chan describes the pattern:

Once the initial migration patterns of the different regional groups had been established, the tendency of potential emigrants to go where they already had relatives or village mates created a chain migration that caused particular groups to cluster in certain localities and in a limited range of occupations.¹⁰

The Chinese character for "emigrant" means "sojourner" which indicated a temporary stay before returning home. In their hope of returning to their native land, the Chinese were no different from European emigrants. The dream was to return to one's village as a rich man so that one could buy land, build a home, and live out one's remaining years in leisure and luxury.

European immigrants like Italians and Germans would also return to their native lands after they made enough money. Thus the Chinese were not the only ones with a sojourner mentality. What makes them different was that the majority of these immigrants were able to return to China. Roger Daniels stated that "this was a majority phenomenon rather than that of a sizable minority, as it was for Italians and other groups."¹¹

⁹ Chan, This Bittersweet Soil, 30.

¹⁰ Chan, This Bittersweet Soil, 11-12.

¹¹ Roger Daniels, Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850 (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1988), 16.

External Causes

Potential emigrants were lured by stories of opportunity that were overseas, especially to places where gold was discovered such as Australia, British Columbia, and California. The historical maritime links of Canton made overseas travel readily accessible despite the imperial ban against emigration. Aspiring emigrants simply traveled to Portuguese Macao or British Hong Kong to find a ship sailing for overseas destinations. Tens of thousands left Canton long before they first arrived in California. According to Jack Chen: "In 1894 there were more than 1 million Chinese living and working overseas. The 90,000 Chinese in the United States at the turn of the century were a relatively small number."¹²

The discovery of gold in California in 1848 and in Australia almost simultaneously determined the destination of aspiring Cantonese emigrants. They went to Western controlled Macao and Hong Kong to embark on a hazardous trans-Pacific voyage. To maximize profits, they were packed like cattle in poorly ventilated holds. They suffered from disease, poor food, and scarce water and many died en route on the 30-90 day trip. Chen gives a vivid description of the situation:

Arriving in San Francisco after 80 days at sea, the *Libertad*, in 1854, was a ship of the dead. One hundred and eighty, or a fifth of the Chinese

¹² Chen, 1.

passengers, were dead on arrival, like the captain, killed by scurvy or ship's fever.¹³

One way tickets cost \$30-\$50, but as competition increased, the price was lowered to as little as \$13. Conditions improved greatly when steamships were introduced in the late 1860s which could carry as many as 1400 in steerage. It was a lucrative business for American and British shipping companies, especially the Pacific Mail Steamship Company which carried most of the immigrants. Tsai shows how large and how enriching was this business of transporting Chinese across the Pacific:

During the peak years of the Chinese immigration, from 1876 to 1890, steamships carried an estimated 200,000 Chinese to West Coast ports and over half that number back to China where they visited or remained. American and British companies probably realized more than \$11 million in steerage ticket fees.¹⁴

To pay their fares, the Cantonese used their savings or borrowed from relatives. Those unable to do so were able to borrow money through a voluntary contract labor system. In this credit arrangement, a company advanced the money and was paid back through monthly deductions from the future wages of the worker who was contracted to work for a certain number of years. According to Chan: "Interest was extremely high, ranging from 4 to 8 percent a month."¹⁵

¹³ Chen, 23.

¹⁴ Tsai, Chinese Experience, 8.

¹⁵ Chan, This Bittersweet Soil, 26.

This credit ticket system was no different from that used by European immigrants. The use of the term "coolie labor" is a misnomer because once the obligations of the contract were fulfilled, the Chinese or European immigrant was free to gain employment elsewhere. While poor and uneducated, the Chinese were, nevertheless, free laborers. According to Daniels, this credit ticket system was successful because:

The mere fact that these informal credit mechanisms continued to be utilized by both legal and illegal Chinese immigrants well into the twentieth century is presumptive evidence that most creditors were eventually repaid.¹⁶

In 1852, between 20-30,000 Chinese arrived in San Francisco to look for gold. The next year, only 5000 emigrated due to the Foreign Miner's Tax imposed by California and the discovery of gold in Australia. In 1854, more than 16,000 Chinese came.

According to the 1860 Census, 34,933 Chinese were living in America, virtually all in California. Chen puts this number in the context of European immigration: "In the 1850s, when immigration from China was at a peak in the Gold Rush days, Chinese, all told, numbered only some 35,000 in the States, while 2.5 million immigrants came in from Europe."¹⁷ Thus there were almost 100 European immigrants for every Chinese immigrant.

¹⁶ Daniels, 15.

¹⁷ Chen, 15.

However, the Chinese presence was conspicuous because they were concentrated totally in California. Daniels puts this Chinese population in perspective:

Between 1860 and 1880, Chinese were more than 8 percent of California's population; since they were overwhelmingly adult males, they were a considerably large percent of the labor force. It is impossible to calculate precisely how much Chinese contributed to California's economic growth.¹⁸

Yet this concentration of the Chinese in California was a typical settlement pattern for immigrants in which one ethnic group dominates a neighborhood to the virtual exclusion of others. Economically, immigrants want to live as cheaply as possible. Culturally, they want to live among their own kind where they can speak their native language, eat their own foods, and develop familiar social organizations.

Besides these internal reasons, according to Daniels, there are also external reasons for the "larger host community usually encourages, and sometimes force, ethnically distinct groups to live in rather strictly defined areas."¹⁹ The Chinese experience in America differs only in degree, not in kind, in comparison to European immigrants.

Community Organizations

The early Cantonese immigrants transplanted the social

¹⁸ Daniels, 15.

¹⁹ Daniels, 18.

organizations they left behind in China. These organizations were based upon family and district ties, unlike European immigrants who used religious ties to develop churches. These institutions helped preserve their Chinese culture in an alien environment. At the same time, according to Chan, these organizations

functioned as instruments of social control over the masses of immigrants and as legitimizers of the status accorded particular immigrant leaders.serving as communication links--and consequently, as power brokers--between their compatriots and the external world.²⁰

Whether in Southeast Asia, Latin America, or the United States, the Chinese community formed three types of organizations: (1) family and clan associations based on surname, (2) huiguans or district or speech associations, and (3) secret societies. Stanford Lyman describes the extent of their influence:

[T]hese institutions have persisted among overseas Chinese regardless of the foreign cultures surrounding them and despite attempts from within and without the Chinese community to curb their power or destroy them entirely. As a result the overseas Chinese are often alleged to be one of the least acculturated of peoples.²¹

For example, in Chinatown, the heads of these associations formed an oligarchic elite which, according to Lyman, provided important community functions for it

²⁰ Sucheng Chan, Asian Americans: An Interpretative History (Boston: Twayne Pubs., 1991), 63.

²¹ Stanford M. Lyman, Chinese Americans, Ethnic Groups in Comparative Perspective (New York: Random House, 1974), 8.

makes and enforces laws, collects taxes and fees, and settles disputes....speaks on behalf of the Chinese people, and in the nineteenth century arranged contracts for Chinese labor, and appeared in behalf of the Chinese in the courts.²²

These Chinese community organizations provides the context for understanding the churches and missions established in Chinatown by Euro-American missionaries. As a response, Chinese converts formed their own organization, the Youxue Zhengdoahui, which paralleled the ministry of these churches except for the sacraments.

Clan Associations

The foundation of Chinese culture was the family as family relationships dominated all other social activities. Entire villages in the emigrant districts of Kwangtung and Fukien were composed of one to three lineages. If lineages became large, they were divided into branches or sublineages. Han-seng Chen describes this situation in Kwangtung:

[F]our out of every five peasants, or more, live with their clans. Usually one village is inhabited by one clan. Even if there is more than one clan, each clan occupies a distinct section of the village; there is hardly a mixed neighborhood.²³

While the pivotal value of the family is basic to almost all

²² Stanford M. Lyman, Chinatown and Little Tokyo: Power, Conflict and Community Among Chinese and Japanese Immigrants in America (Millwood, N.Y.: Associated Faculty Press, 1986), 71.

²³ Han-seng Chen, Agrarian Problems in Southernmost China (Shanghai: D.P.R., 1936) quoted in Lyman, Chinese Americans, 10.

societies, what was significant about the Chinese system was that the family linked a large number of people based on blood or fictive kinship. Thus it was natural for the overseas Chinese to organize themselves into family or clan associations.

Family or clan associations were based on a common surname even though there may be no blood relation at all. The assumption was that somewhere back in their family history, there was a common (or at least putative) ancestor. If a clan was not large enough for its own association, they joined other clans to form a coalition or a joint clan association.

As in China, clans concentrated in certain cities and in specific occupations. According to Lyman: "The Dear clan, for example, tends to operate San Francisco's fruit and candy stores, and the Yee and Lee clans own better-class restaurants and supply most of the cooks in domestic service."²⁴

These clan associations had officers who, according to Chan, had the following important social functions:

settled quarrels, formed rotating credit associations, sent letters and remitted money back to China for individuals, cared for the sick and indigent, built altars or even temples, maintained cemeteries, and shipped the exhumed bones of the deceased to their home villages for final burial, In short, these organizations performed all the

²⁴ Lyman, Chinese Americans, 31.

crucial functions that in China were carried out by extended families, clans, or lineages.²⁵

Thus family or clan associations functioned as much needed mutual aid societies for newly arrived Chinese male immigrants. They provided shelter, food, clothes, and other important services for gold miners and for other workers.

Territorial or Speech Associations

Another important association was the huiguans whose members were from the same geographical district and who spoke the same Cantonese dialect. This was due to the fact that family and kinship ties alone could not provide all the social solidarity that was needed. Huiguans were formed by the social bond of language and one's place of origin. When huiguans were transplanted to the United States, they too were composed of Cantonese immigrants from the same villages who spoke the same dialect.

Language and village were coterminous since the many different dialects of the Chinese language encouraged the development of separate villages. Because neighboring villages in China were autonomous and isolated from each other, they spoke different dialects which made communication difficult. These dialects were like different languages since some were almost unintelligible to speakers of other dialects.

Around Canton was a group of three districts of Nanhai,

²⁵ Chan, Asian Americans, 64.

Panyu, and Shunde that were in the Pearl River Delta with relatively productive land. Immigrants from these districts spoke the Sam Yup dialect and formed the Sam Yup Association. They "became import-export merchants, grocers, butchers, tailors, and other kinds of entrepreneurs."²⁶ Some rose to prominence and became "some of the important merchants in San Francisco's Chinatown, and many of the early sewing factories and butcher shops were owned by them."²⁷

The Sze Yup Association was formed by immigrants that spoke another Cantonese dialect, Sze Yup. They were from the districts of Enping, Kaiping, Taishan, and Xinhui which were located further south of Canton and near Macao. Chan described why this land was unsuitable for agriculture:

The area is hilly, rocky, and barren. It was bad enough that only 10 percent of the land could be cultivated....the land farther inland, which did not suffer from salinity, was vulnerable to drought because the hilly terrain made it impossible to construct an irrigation system.²⁸

Because of the poverty caused by this lack of land, Sze Yup people were motivated to emigrate to California where it was estimated that they composed three-quarters of the Chinese population until the 1950s. Yet despite their numbers, as a group, they were relatively poorer than the

²⁶ Chan, Asian Americans, 64.

²⁷ Chan, Bittersweet Soil, 18.

²⁸ Chan, Bittersweet Soil, 19-20.

Sam Yup. According to Chan, most of the people from Sze Yup "became laborers and domestic servants, those who went into business had laundries, restaurants, and small retail stores."²⁹

Because of the number of the Sze Yup immigrants, two more Sze Yup associations were formed because of internal divisions. In addition, two other huiguans, the Zhongshan and Hakka group formed their own associations. With the Sam Yup association, there were a total of six district associations and each had their own headquarters and full-time officials in San Francisco. Together, these six associations formed the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA), more widely known as the Chinese Six Companies. According to Tsai, the CCBA dealt with matters that affected the general Chinese community and acted as an intermediary in conflict situations.

It settled disputes between individuals and the companies, decided strategies for contesting or seeking relief from unconstitutional or burdensome laws, devised ways to curb the importation of prostitutes, and arranged for public dinners and other celebrations.³⁰

The leadership of these district associations were merchants, who with their capital, established the first huiguans in San Francisco in 1851 to take advantage of business opportunities that were denied them in China.

²⁹ Chan, Bittersweet Soil, 18.

³⁰ Tsai, Chinese Experience, 47-48.

This was a natural development because in China, merchants protected their interests and obtained patronage from officials, by forming associations in major Chinese cities in the nineteenth century.

Thus before the Chinese began to immigrate in large numbers, they prepared the way for later Chinese immigrants. According to Chan, these merchants

rented or purchased buildings, set up stores, and established ties to the Euro-American community. By aiding their fellow countrymen, they also quickly gained control over them. The dominance they enjoyed over them lasted for more than a century.³¹

The high status of the merchants indicates a reversal of social status because those at the top of society in China were scholars but few of these emigrated. Merchants were at the bottom of the social hierarchy in Confucian China (below peasants and artisans) because they did not create any material goods. Yet in the United States, merchants replaced the scholars as the new power elite since they occupied the leadership positions in the Six Companies "Chinatown merchants controlled immigrant associations, dispensed jobs and opportunities, settled disputes, and acted as an advocate for Chinese sojourners before white society."³² Thus merchants influenced many important areas of the immigrants' lives due to their leadership of the

³¹ Chan, Asian Americans, 66.

³² Lyman, Chinese Americans, 29-30.

huiguans or district associations.

Secret Societies

The emigrant districts of Kwangtung and Fukien have been the site of secret societies for more than a thousand years. Secret societies were extra-kinship organizations that were formed against common enemies such as the state, local officials, landlords, and rich lineages. Rebellious individuals and outcasts also formed secret societies to pursue socially deviant goals. Thus membership was based upon common interests, legal or illegal, rather than on kinship or district ties.

Secret societies were formed in almost every overseas Chinese community and were an important part of the organizational life in Chinatown from its beginning. Their activities were limited to the boundaries of the Chinese community and did not affect white society. From the limited data available, Lyman says that "their activities may be classified according to their political, protest, criminal, and benevolent character".³³

In China, the secret societies were the main outlet for popular grievances against imperial rule. In the United States, they had an irregular although active interest in politics in China. Between 1904 and 1911, Sun Yat-sen was supported by the Triad Society, the oldest and most famous secret society who led several insurrections against the

³³ Lyman, Chinese Americans, 38.

Ch'ing or Manchu Dynasty between 1787-1911). "In San Francisco over 2,000,000 dollars in revolutionary currency were printed."³⁴ Sun Yat-sen's reason for collaborating with the Triads was that it could claim a national membership, unlike other Chinese associations. Sun's establishment of a Chinese republic in 1911 was the only political success for the secret societies in the United States.

As in China, secret societies were an instrument to protest against individual or collective oppression. In the United States, secret societies directed their efforts against exploitation by clan and district association and provided protection against abuse by Chinatown's power elite. Unlike the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA), they did not fight against "white racism, Sinophobic legislation, or anti-Chinese mobs." ³⁵

If an individual felt wronged, one could join or form a secret society which provided comradeship and protection against clan and district associations. Members of a secret society were thus bound together by having common interests against the same perceived enemy. Reasons could include

³⁴ Stanford M. Lyman, W. E. Willmott, and Berching Ho, "Rules of a Chinese Secret Society in British Columbia," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 27/3 (1964); reprinted in The Asian in North America, ed. Stanford M. Lyman (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-Clio, 1970), 97.

³⁵ Lyman, Chinese Americans, 40.

revenge, an unfavorable hearing before the CCBA, and business failures due to the monopolies enjoyed by the associations. Thus secret societies were an outlet for individuals who felt wronged by the other associations and a formed a power base from which to fight this oppression.

The economic base for the secret societies were criminal activities such as providing opium, gambling, and prostitution. The clan and district associations failed in their early attempts to stamp out these illegal goods and services. According to Lyman, there was an alliance.

Later, secret society leaders were admitted to the ruling elite of Chinatown, and attempts by the leadership of clans, hui kuan, and secret societies to hide and to regulate vice operations replaced their earlier opposition to the traditional authorities.³⁶

Unlike the other associations which were based upon kinship ties, secret societies were bound together by common interests, both legal and illegal. Thus secret societies provided an outlet and a power base for those whose needs were not met by the other associations.

Conclusion

It was through clan and district associations along with secret societies that Chinatowns were to a large extent, self-governing. These associations organized benevolent, mutual aid, and protective bodies. Because the Chinese were denied naturalization, they could not vote so

³⁶ Lyman, Chinese Americans, 42.

they were left alone by local politicians, except during periods of anti-Chinese agitation. According to Lyman, in their relationship with municipal authorities, "the Chinese community in America is more like a colonial dependency than an immigrant settlement in an open society."³⁷

Yet there was not always peace within these associations. While many differences were settled by arbitration through tribunals, some broke out in violence within the associations. Rivalries between clans and districts were transplanted from China such as the Hakka and the Cantonese fighting the Weaverville War of 1854 in northern California. Political factions arose before and after the 1911 revolution in China. Class struggles occurred when poor clans fought the prosperous merchant clans. Lastly, the scarcity of Chinese women caused short and bloody wars between associations.

There was also external conflict between associations and the secret societies who challenged the authority of the district associations. For example, the Chinese Six Companies protested the 1896 Geary Act which required registration of all the Chinese in the United States. When their attempt failed, several secret societies embarked on a violent campaign to "persuade the rank-and-file Chinese to renounce their allegiance to the confederation of hui

³⁷ Lyman, Chinese Americans, 29.

kuan."³⁸ In addition, secret societies fought each other for control of vice operations in the Chinatowns in New York, San Francisco, and in smaller cities.

This complex conflict of interests within family/clan associations, huiguan/district associations, and secret societies is well described by Lyman:

San Francisco's Chinatown witnessed both a considerable amount of conflict and an increasingly complex web of group affiliation in the years between 1850 and 1910. On the one hand, the intramural struggles for wealth, women, and power certainly did not lend themselves to peaceful relations among the immigrants. On the other hand, the fabric of group affiliation was woven more tightly as wars generated the need for allies and a system of collective security.³⁹

Yet despite their internal conflicts, the associations put forth "a united front in the face of enemies [which] tended to give an impression of harmony as well as solidarity."⁴⁰ Through these power struggles, the identity of clan and district associations along with secret societies was enhanced and solidified.

The Beginnings of Anti-Chinese Stereotyping

Before the first immigrant from China entered the United States, negative stereotypes of the Chinese were

³⁸ Lyman, Chinese Americans, 49.

³⁹ Stanford M. Lyman, "Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliation in San Francisco's Chinatown, 1850-1910," Pacific Historical Review 43 (1974); reprinted in The Asian in North America, ed. Stanford M. Lyman (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-Clio, 1970), 112.

⁴⁰ Lyman, Chinese Americans, 22.

already common in the American mind. According to the important work of Stuart Creighton Miller, "The Chinese did not arrive on American shores in an opinion vacuum. Americans had been trading with the Chinese since 1785 and were enthusiastically supporting Protestant missionaries in China since 1807."⁴¹ Miller gives the example of the Philadelphia journal Port Folio which was the "first American magazine, in 1811, to criticize the Chinese severely in terms that approached racism."⁴²

The unfavorable image of the Chinese evolved through the writings of traders, diplomats, and missionaries. Miller describes this stereotyping as an "evolutionary process that accelerated noticeably between 1835 and 1850."⁴³

Traders

The accounts of traders between 1785 and 1840 were critical of China's despotic government with its arbitrary laws, social injustice and its static condition. "China was a huge pecking order in which each official terrorized those under him, which resulted in cowardice, corruption, venality, and deceit."⁴⁴ The Chinese were viewed as a

⁴¹ Stuart Creighton Miller, The Unwelcome Immigrant: The American Image of the Chinese, 1785-1882 (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1969), 7.

⁴² Stuart Miller, 155.

⁴³ Stuart Miller, 112.

⁴⁴ Stuart Miller, 25.

peculiar people with strange eating habits and other exotic social customs. Traders observed Chinese dishonesty as their one universal. Miller summarizes their other characterizations of the Chinese:

[T]he majority of Americans who journeyed to China before 1840 regarded the Chinese as ridiculously clad, superstitious ridden, dishonest, crafty, cruel, and marginal members of the human race who lacked the courage, intelligence, skill, and will to do anything about the oppressive despotism under which they lived or the stagnating social conditions that surrounded them.⁴⁵

At the end of the eighteenth century, this negative picture by traders of the Chinese was already in process. From these images, stereotypes would emerge that would follow Chinese emigrants to America.

Diplomats

The accounts by European diplomats in China between 1785 and 1840 were considered more important by American editors than the journals of the less educated traders. According to Miller: "Scarcely an article written on China before 1859 failed to cite at least one of these diplomatic memoirs for authority."⁴⁶

One of the most popular accounts was Sir John Barrow's Travels in China which was published in 1803. It pictured the government as so oppressive that the Chinese were seen as slaves. This explained why their behavior was viewed as

⁴⁵ Stuart Miller, 36.

⁴⁶ Stuart Miller, 39.

shameless, untrustworthy, and cowardly. Barrow viewed China as a great paradox: while the most populous country, she was among the most inferior in military power; while her civilization was older than the Greeks, China had declined to such an extent that she was hardly civilized at all. Unlike the traders, Barrow was morally indignant at the depravity of the Chinese, which foreshadowed the attitude of later missionaries. Although Barrow respected China's tolerance of other religions, his book according to Miller, "approached the modern racist position, although well short of twentieth-century extremes."⁴⁷

Although not quite as negative as the accounts of the less educated traders, the memoirs of diplomats played a role in contributing toward viewing the Chinese people in a negative light.

Missionaries

Missionary accounts from 1807 to 1870 were the most influential in informing the general public about the Chinese through their numerous books, journals, missionary periodicals, and their public speeches. In the aftermath of the Second Great Awakening and because of their rigid Puritanical tendencies, missionaries were obsessed "with idolatry, gambling, and sexual immorality in China, as well as their indifference or frequently hostile view of

⁴⁷ Stuart Miller, 44.

Confucius."⁴⁸ This attitude was in contrast to traders and diplomats who respected Confucius and Chinese philosophy.

Unlike the earlier Jesuits' admiration for Chinese culture, Protestants missionaries were provincial and paternalistic. They could not fathom the depths of the "heathenness" of the Chinese and they naively expected that the Chinese would be quickly converted with their simple evangelistic message. When confronted with China's unresponsiveness to the gospel, missionaries soon viewed the Chinese as subjects of Satan because of their sin and idolatry. Miller gives the example that the term "'Kingdom of Darkness' was used to refer to China in missionary sources almost as much as were 'Celestial Empire' or 'Middle Kingdom.'"⁴⁹ Satan was symbolized as a Chinese dragon and in one Sunday School lesson on China, the emperor's use of the dragon "could not have adopted a more expressive device to indicate his allegiance to the 'Prince of the Power of the air' that worketh in the children of disobedience."⁵⁰ Under Satan's influence, China's civilization was stagnant and was a prime example of the evil consequences of paganism. Christianity could rectify these problems since the gospel was viewed by the missionaries as the agent of

⁴⁸ Stuart Miller, 60.

⁴⁹ Stuart Miller, 72.

⁵⁰ American Sunday School Union, The People of China (Philadelphia, 1844), 73 as cited in Stuart Miller, 63.

civilization.

This negative and provincial view of Chinese culture influenced the themes of missionary literature. According to Miller, the missionaries added two more negative themes:

In addition to idolatry, licentiousness, and criticism of Confucius, the practice of infanticide and the barbaric treatment of women appeared consistently in the Protestant missionary accounts of China. While these latter two themes were certainly not new, they were neglected until these missionaries arrived on the scene.⁵¹

For example, instead of viewing infanticide as the practice of only the lowest classes (like the trades and diplomats), missionaries saw this as evidence of paganism and thus reported infanticide as a universal practice in China. If women were "not murdered at birth, they were shabbily treated until sold to the highest bidder as wives, concubines, or prostitutes."⁵²

As the nineteenth century progressed, the Chinese were more often described as "barbarous" in missionary articles. The highly unfavorable image of the Chinese by missionaries can be clearly seen in a mission board pamphlet.

Underneath a calm and courteous exterior, foreigners have found them cunning and corrupt, treacherous and vindictive. Gambling and drunkenness, though abundantly prevalent, are far outstripped by their licentiousness, which taints the language with its leprosy, often decorates the walls of their inns with the foulest of scenes by

⁵¹ Stuart Miller, 67.

⁵² Stuart Miller, 68.

them called "flowers" and lurks beneath a thin Chinese lacquer as a deep dead rot in society.⁵³

These same words could easily be uttered by Denis Kearney and other sinophobes in California in the 1870s as reasons why "the Chinese must go."

The missionary focus on Chinese paganism lead them to see that their idolatry was the root of all China's problems: "lechery, dishonesty, xenophobia, cruelty, despotism, filth, and intellectual inferiority."⁵⁴ Because of their access to public opinion through the pulpit, speeches, and publications, missionaries deserved much of the blame for creating these negative Chinese stereotypes.

The Mass Media

According to Miller, it was clearly the Opium War (1839-42) that "served as an important catalyst in popularizing the anti-Chinese themes developed and polished by diplomats, traders, and missionaries over several decades."⁵⁵ During the Opium War, overwhelming British military power routed China's forces which strengthened the image of Chinese inferiority. Despite fears of an English trade monopoly in China, newspapers and magazine editors were unsympathetic towards China who now was forced to

⁵³ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board (Boston, 1880), 8 as cited in Stuart Miller, 76.

⁵⁴ Stuart Miller, 77.

⁵⁵ Stuart Miller, 112.

import narcotics into her ports.

With the development of sensationalist penny newspapers in the 1840s, widespread coverage of the Opium War sparked broad American interest in China. This interest continued with further sensational incidents in China such as the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864), the Burlingame mission and treaty in 1868, and the Tientsin massacre in 1870 in which missionaries were murdered.

Sensationalist newspaper accounts by eyewitnesses revealed infanticide, filth, poverty, brutal executions, and opium smoking in China. These social conditions, which expressed suspicion and contempt for Chinese civilization, now reached a much wider audience.

The causes for these terrible conditions were due to the nature of the Chinese "race," according to some interpretations:

Articles and review of books rarely failed to comment on the stagnation of Chinese life. For some contributors it was simply a question of race: The Chinese were by nature "imbeciles" and incapable of progress....It is amazing how much ire this alleged deficiency could arouse in some Americans.⁵⁶

According to Miller, this perceived lack of "progress" by the Chinese "was as critical as their alleged vices, paganism, and allegiance to a despotic form of government in rendering them totally nonassimilable in the eyes of

⁵⁶ Stuart Miller, 148.

Americans."⁵⁷

The mass media added to the negative Chinese stereotypes already created by traders, diplomats, and missionaries. Newspapers and magazines thus played a major role in spreading anti-Chinese sentiment that were exploited by labor organizers and politicians in California.

New Stereotypes

When the first Chinese immigrants arrived, developments within the United States created new negative images which further caused suspicion and contempt. "Chief among these newer critical themes were the fear of slavery, the emphasis on racial difference, and the menace of loathsome, contagious disease."⁵⁸

Despite their attempts to prove they were volunteer laborers, the Chinese could never escape the label "coolie" in the mass media. They were not slaves because after their labor contracts to pay for their Pacific passage were fulfilled, they were free. Yet fears of Chinese slavery continued with sensationalist reporting of the coolie trade. An extended headline in the New York Herald read:

Slavers in the Pacific--The Coolie Trade--Dreadful
Scenes on Board a Coolie-Trade Ship. Worse than
Slavery. Death a relief--Barbarous Treatment of

⁵⁷ Stuart Miller, 150.

⁵⁸ Stuart Miller, 146.

the Coolies--Bound and Beaten--Fortunate Relief--
Fearful Tales of Suffering.⁵⁹

Respectable leaders in California and in the East were fearful of a permanent Chinese servile class. Even President Grant was influenced by this mistaken view that Chinese immigrants were slaves. In his annual address in 1874, he pleaded to Congress:

I call the attention of Congress to a generally conceded fact that the great proportion of the Chinese immigrants who come to our shores do not come voluntarily, to make their homes with us and their labor productive of general prosperity, but come under contracts with headmen who own them almost absolutely. In a worse form does this apply to Chinese women. Hardly a perceptible percentage of them perform any honorable labor, but they are brought for shameful purposes, to the great demoralization of the youth of these localities. If this evil practice can be legislated against, it will be my pleasure as well as my duty to enforce any regulation to secure so desirable an end.⁶⁰

If Grant's perception that the Chinese were almost absolute slaves, the same held true for the average Californian who were unwilling to compete with this cheap coolie labor. Being single, the Chinese were able to live at a much lower standard of living than whites. Because their goal was to save as much money as possible to return to China, they could live and work cheaply. However, this was not much different from some European immigrants who

⁵⁹ New York Herald, 15 Oct. 1870, quoted in Stuart Miller, 151.

⁶⁰ Congressional Record, 43rd Cong., 2nd Sess., Dec. 7, 1874, 3-4, as cited in Stuart Miller, 154.

likewise were "birds of passage."

The living conditions of San Francisco's Chinatown was always used as an example of the filthy living conditions of the Chinese. A city health report stated the following:

As a class, their mode of life is the most abject in which it is possible for human beings to exist. The great majority of them live crowded together in rickety, filthy and dilapidated tenement houses, like so many cattle and hogs....the most absolute squalidness and misery meets one at every turn. Vice in all its hideousness is on every hand. Apartments that would be deemed small for the accommodation of a single American, are occupied by six, eight, or ten Mongolians, with seeming indifference to all comforts. Nothing short of ocular demonstration can convey an idea, of Chinese poverty and depravity.⁶¹

A second new theme dealt with racial differences. The Chinese were unfortunate to arrive in the United States amidst a fierce scientific debate about the various races of humanity, whether they developed from a single origin (monogenesis) or from many seeds (polygenesis). Prior to 1850, most American intellectuals believed in the unity of the human race who were all children of Adam and Eve, but this was now challenged. According to Louis Agassiz, an eminent scientist, "polygenesis did not challenge the scriptures since the Old Testament never mentioned American Indians, Mongols, Malays, or Negroes. Genesis was the story

⁶¹ San Francisco. Board of Supervisors, Municipal Reports, 1869-70, 233 as cited in Elmer Clarence Sandmeyer, The Anti-Chinese Movement in California (1939; reprint, Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1973), 51.

of the Caucasian race as originated by Adam and Eve."⁶² While the impact of polygenesis on the scientific community has been debatable, Darwin's theory of evolution dealt it a fatal blow.

Yet this controversy did heighten consciousness about supposed racial differences between old and new immigrants. It also "helped incubate modern racist theory and render the Chinese nonassimilable on biological grounds."⁶³ Both sides of this debate held the assumption that the colored races were naturally inferior to the intellectual, moral, and social endowment of Caucasians. This inferiority was expressed in the New York World in 1876:

Since "the Asiatics are cunning, treacherous and vicious, possessing no conception of American civilization," adjustments to their increasing number in California would have to be "disastrous" to our way of life, it was reasoned on the pages of the New York World. Indeed, the western states were in 1876 already "degenerating into Chinese colonies," the editor warned.⁶⁴

When Easterners who came to California saw the unique appearance and customs of the Chinese, "their responses were largely shaped by previous responses to Indians, to

⁶² Louis Agassiz, "The Diversity of Origin of the Human Races," Christian Examiner 49 (1850): 111-13, quoted in Stuart Miller, 156.

⁶³ Stuart Miller, 154.

⁶⁴ New York World, 4 April 1876, quoted in Stuart Miller, 159.

immigrants, and especially to Negroes and Negro slaves."⁶⁵
The racial inferiority of blacks were then easily translated in their mind to the Chinese.

It was feared that the Chinese could not shed their foreign and heathen customs and become Americanized and this threatened the mythical ideal of the melting pot. For Miller, Chinese immigrants were uniquely different from European immigrants:

Unlike the coming of the Chinese, however, no immigrant group had differed sufficiently from the Anglo-American root stock to compromise basic social institutions such as Christian religion and ethics, monogamy, or natural rights theory, not to mention the doctrine of material progress for the individual.⁶⁶

The third theme that victimized the Chinese was the medical theories about racial factors in causing disease. Missionary accounts viewed China as full of disease and epidemics as evidenced by the death of many missionaries' wives. "Chinese" dirt and filth endangered the health and safety of American society.

Thus Chinese immigrants were viewed as a medical threat and the first sensationalist book to reveal this was Dr. Arthur B. Stout's Chinese Immigration and the Physiological Causes of the Decay of a Nation.⁶⁷ As a prominent doctor,

⁶⁵ Alexander Saxton, The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1971), 19.

⁶⁶ Stuart Miller, 192.

⁶⁷ Stuart Miller, 161.

Dr. Stout believed that the biological superiority of Americans was threatened by the invisible germs of the inferior Chinese. Other doctors warned about a more potent Chinese syphilis and among other fears:

[T]he fear that the nations' bloodstream was being poisoned by Chinese prostitution had caused a formal study of the problem by the AMA in 1875....[It] revealed nothing startling beyond the conclusion that syphilis among the Chinese was transmitted in much the same manner as it was among Europeans.⁶⁸

Other alleged diseases that the Chinese brought with them included leprosy, cholera, smallpox, and other

nameless contagions spawned in the fleshpots of Oriental lechery. Concern over China's potential for exporting both large numbers of people and devastating diseases caused some American opinion leaders to speculate that an inferior people might well overcome a superior group.⁶⁹

Within a ten year period, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors had deported forty-eight Chinese for leprosy.⁷⁰

In conclusion, the negative stereotypes of the Chinese began with the accounts of the traders, diplomats, and missionaries. These Chinese images gained a wider audience with the rise of sensationalist penny newspapers. Newer stereotypes developed which viewed the Chinese as coolie slaves, as unassimilable, and as a source of infectious diseases. These were the preconceived notions that awaited

⁶⁸ Transactions of the American Medical Association 27 (1876): 106, quoted in Stuart Miller, 165.

⁶⁹ Stuart Miller, 194.

⁷⁰ Sandmeyer, 38.

Chinese immigrants as they disembarked in San Francisco.

Chinese Labor in San Francisco

San Francisco was the point of entry for the Chinese whose destination was the gold mines. When the gold fields became exhausted, the Chinese moved into San Francisco along with those who completed the transcontinental railroad. As a result, the Chinese population grew from 2,719 in 1860 to 12,022 in 1870 or almost one-fourth of the state's Chinese population.⁷¹

The Chinese quickly found jobs in San Francisco's booming manufacturing factories and according to Ronald Takaki, "represented 46 per cent of the labor force in the city's four key industries--boots and shoes, woolens, cigars and tobacco, and sewing."⁷² Yet Chinese workers were concentrated in the manufacturing sectors and were even segregated within specific industries that paid lower wages than white workers. According to Takaki's statistics:

Cigar workers, for example, received only \$287 in annual wages, and 92 percent of them were Chinese. By contrast, tailors and seamsters earned \$588 a year, and only 9 percent of them were Chinese.... In the garment industry, Chinese workers were employed mainly in factories producing women's clothing and received an annual average wage of \$364, compared to \$597 paid to the mostly white workers in factories making men's clothing.⁷³

This wage disparity worsened when the work force was

⁷¹ See Takaki, Strangers, 87.

⁷² Takaki, Strangers, 87.

⁷³ Takaki, Strangers, 88.

integrated because when the work was the same, the wages of the Chinese were lower. In terms of position, whites occupied the skilled jobs such as foremen, while the Chinese were given menial tasks. Thus a dual system developed, based on the color line, which put the Chinese in inferior positions as compared to white workers.

The first industry which employed large numbers of Chinese was the cigar industry in San Francisco which grew rapidly after 1864. After learning the trade, the Chinese quickly set up their own factories, "selling the same quality products at lower prices. Even as early as 1866 half of San Francisco's cigar factories were Chinese-owned."⁷⁴ Chinese labor dominated the industry whose numbers reached 5,500 in 1876-7 and 4,000 in the following two years. However, by 1892, anti-coolie clubs reduced the number of Chinese cigar workers to only 700.

Chinese Exclusion from the Labor Movement

The prevailing negative Chinese stereotypes created by traders, diplomats, missionaries, and the mass media provides the historical context understanding anti-Chinese sentiment by organized labor in California. The Chinese became a convenient tool that local labor leaders exploited for their purposes.

The Chinese shared a similar fate as Native Americans

⁷⁴ Thomas W. Chinn, ed., A History of the Chinese in California: A Syllabus (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1969), 49.

and African slaves in their virtual exclusion from higher status jobs and its better wages due to Euro-American racism. Within California, Alexander Saxton reports that:

Chinese were found in occupations which required little or no skill, in occupations stigmatized as menial, and in manufacturing. In a general way, the division between Chinese and non-Chinese corresponded to lines of skill or prestige.⁷⁵

For example, with some 12,000 Chinese working on the Central Pacific railroad in crossing the Sierra Nevada mountains, the status of unskilled white labor was upgraded. He could advance into that "elite one-fifth of the labor force which was composed of strawbosses, foremen, teamsters, skilled craftsmen."⁷⁶ Excluding the Chinese obviously enhanced the job security of white craftsmen. Yet the situation was far different for unskilled white workers.

According to Saxton's interpretation, the Chinese

inhibited immigration to California of young and aggressive unskilled workingmen. White workers actually forced into competition with Chinese in the construction gangs, harvest fields or sweatshops, were for the most part those who were no longer capable (if they even had been) of bidding for jobs against skilled white tradesmen.⁷⁷

Thus excluded from skilled labor, the Chinese competed with, and were a threat to unskilled white workers.

Because of their cheap "coolie" work in California's

⁷⁵ Saxton, Indispensable Enemy, 5.

⁷⁶ Saxton, Indispensable Enemy, 63.

⁷⁷ Saxton, Indispensable Enemy, 263-64.

high-priced labor market, the Chinese were considered a threat to the organized labor movement. Yet Saxton argued that there were deeper underlying reasons for this:

America's hostile reception of Chinese cannot be explained solely by the "cheap" labor argument, although many historians have endeavored to do so. The dominant society responded differently to Irish or Slavic than to Oriental cheap workers, not so much for economic as for ideological and psychological reasons.⁷⁸

Thus these "ideological and psychological reasons" were based upon fears generated by racism, of competing with someone who was different, and therefore one who was inferior, the Chinese.

Because of these fears, white laborers were antagonistic towards Chinese workers. They perceived them to be an economic threat because of their lower standard of living and because they worked together as a contract labor gang. This was unfair competition, for according to Saxton, "A more or less free labor force was being pressed into competition with indentured labor."⁷⁹

The Chinese were also seen as pawns in the hands of corporations and capitalists in their attempt to monopolize California's economy and politics. Unable to strike back against the capitalists and monopolists, white laborers vented their frustration against the Chinese who were a much more visible target.

⁷⁸ Saxton, Indispensable Enemy, 2.

⁷⁹ Saxton, Indispensable Enemy, 259.

Despite their own diversity of country of origin and language, white laborers believed that the Chinese were even more different. Their consciousness of not being Chinese "welded the non-Chinese labor force into a bloc that would deeply modify the politics and social relationships of the Far West."⁸⁰ The Chinese united these diverse white workers because they became their common enemy.

Despite having the same working class origins, the Chinese laborer became the excluded "other" in the labor movement. Union organizers and leaders exploited anti-Chinese sentiment for their own political gains because they "wished to secure the support of unskilled workingmen without assuming trade union responsibilities to them."⁸¹

In 1859, there was a boycott against Chinese-made cigars which failed because these cigars could not be differentiated from other cigars. This was rectified by a white label across the cigar boxes which read: "The cigars herein contained are made by WHITE MEN. This label is issued by authority of the Cigar Makers' Association of the Pacific Coast."⁸² Boot and shoemakers soon followed with a stamp to show that it was a product of white craftsmen.

Anti-coolie clubs were formed to organize other anti-Chinese activities. In 1867, Chinese laborers building a

⁸⁰ Saxton, Indispensable Enemy, 258.

⁸¹ Saxton, Indispensable Enemy, 264.

⁸² Saxton, Indispensable Enemy, 74.

San Francisco railway was attacked by some four hundred people which injured a dozen Chinese. When the leaders were arrested, a legal defense committee was organized and after their conviction, a city-wide mass meeting was held. Then a "central committee of twelve was charged with the duty of organizing (or discovering) anticoolie clubs in each of the city's twelve wards."⁸³

This led to the formation of a city-wide organization called the Central Pacific Anti-Coolie Association. It was popular with the trade unions because of the wide political appeal of anti-coolieism. This Association helped lobby the Board of Supervisors in 1870 to enact the Lodging House Ordinance or the "Cubic Air" Ordinance. It was directed against the crowded conditions of Chinatown and "required every lodging house to provide at least five hundred cubic feet of air space for each lodger....But as in case of much of the anti-Chinese legislation, this ordinance was not enforced with any degree of consistency."⁸⁴ The United States Circuit Court declared it unconstitutional in 1878.

Although the Central Pacific Anti-Coolie Association lasted only a year, anti-Chinese sentiment of labor continued. In 1885, San Francisco labor organizations organized an anti-Chinese congress which resulted in the formation of the Trades and Labor Federation of the Pacific

⁸³ Saxton, Indispensable Enemy, 74.

⁸⁴ Sandmeyer, 51.

Coast (Federated Trades). It still exists today as the San Francisco Labor Council.

Labor unions also attempted to drive the Chinese out of the cigar industry. In 1884 the San Francisco local chapter of the Cigar Makers International Union (CMIU) "made every effort to place men in white-owned factories where Chinese had been exclusively employed. This was the first step of a long-range plan for driving Orientals out of the trade."⁸⁵ Despite a Chinese walk-out at one plant (which astonished San Francisco), a boycott against cigar factories that employed Chinese was successful because of the support of the organized labor movement. The result was a "pledge to discharge all Chinese as of January 1, 1886, or as soon thereafter as white workers were available."⁸⁶ By 1892, only 700 Chinese workers remained although the cigar industry itself declined due to Eastern competition.

The Chinese also dominated San Francisco's slipper, shoe, and boot industry. "By 1870 out of 12 slipper factories in San Francisco, 11 were Chinese owned. Out of 211 workers, 191 were Chinese."⁸⁷ According to the 1870 census, the Chinese numbered 296, comprising 19% of the workers in San Francisco's boot and shoe industry.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Saxton, Indispensable Enemy, 216.

⁸⁶ Saxton, Indispensable Enemy, 218.

⁸⁷ Chinn, 51.

⁸⁸ Coolidge, 359.

"Within two or three years at least one-half of such goods produced in California were made by Chinese."⁸⁹ There were only eight Chinese-owned factories in 1875-76, but this increased to 48 by 1880.⁹⁰ These Chinese factories were established when white employers dismissed their Chinese workers as a result of the efforts of a labor union, the Knights of St. Crispin. The Knights demanded that the Chinese be driven out of the industry and so intimidated their employers. This was one reason why, after the "mid-1870's most of the Chinese workers were employed by Chinese-owned factories. (In 1882 out of 2,300 Chinese workers, 2,000 worked for Chinese firms)."⁹¹ However, like the cigar industry, the shoe and boot industries declined rapidly by the 1900s because of Eastern competition.

Laundries were one of the few economic niches in which the Chinese were allowed to operate. Starting a laundry required little capital and little knowledge of English. "As a laundryman he occupied a status which was in accordance with the social definition of the place in the economic hierarchy for a member of an 'inferior race.'"⁹² Thus a Chinese laundry was a necessary, but a low status

⁸⁹ John S. Hittell, The Commerce and Industries of the Pacific Coast of North America (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft, 1882), 509, cited in Chinn, 52.

⁹⁰ Chinn, 52.

⁹¹ Chinn, 52.

⁹² Chan, Asian Americans, 34.

occupation which was not threatening to Euro-Americans.

The first Chinese laundry was established in 1851 and hundreds soon followed. According to Thomas Chinn, Chinese laundries were very numerous:

By 1870, the majority of more than 2,000 laundrymen in San Francisco were Chinese. Six years later San Francisco had some 300 Chinese laundries employing an average of five men each. Almost every block in the city had a laundry as well as every town on the coast.⁹³

Yet Chinese laundries were constantly harassed for many years by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors which enacted numerous laws against Chinese laundries. Although there was a public outcry against these laundries, these laws had to be carefully worded so that they would not be struck down by the courts. According to Charles and Laurene McClain:

The board enacted fourteen such laws between 1873 and 1884. There was no question that these "laundry ordinances" as they were called, were racially motivated....If the ordinances specifically designated the Chinese as a target, the courts would almost certainly strike them down. The supervisors, therefore, used the strategy of creating an elaborate and complicated licensing scheme that vested public officials with essentially unfettered power to regulate the laundry trade.⁹⁴

To illustrate this "unfettered power," two 1880

⁹³ Chinn, 63.

⁹⁴ Charles J. McClain and Laurene Wu McClain, "The Chinese Contribution to the Development of American Law," in Entry Denied: Exclusion and the Chinese Community in America, 1882-1943, ed. Sucheng Chan (Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press, 1991), 12.

ordinances required licenses for laundries in wooden buildings due to the threat of fire. Because there was no specified standard by which these permits would be granted, the Board of Supervisors had arbitrary power to accept or reject applicants at will. The result was predictable: "Of all applications submitted by Chinese laundrymen, not one was accepted by the board. On the other hand, all Caucasian applications save one were approved."⁹⁵

The Chinese laundry guild encouraged laundrymen to continue operating their businesses even when their applications for permits were denied. As a result, about 150 Chinese who defied the law were arrested. The guild then hired a well-known San Francisco trial lawyer to represent them. The California Supreme Court rejected their petition, but their appeal went before the United States Supreme Court. In the Yick Wo v. Hopkins decision, it was ruled that equal protection under the fourteenth amendment applied to non-citizens such as the Chinese laundrymen. According to the McClains' interpretation of this decision:

The Court was deeply disturbed by the vast discretionary power the ordinances conferred on the board of supervisors....while the laws appeared neutral, this neutrality was fatally compromised by the manner in which the laws were administered....Yick Wo took the Court an important step further in its interpretation of the equal-protection clause....⁹⁶

⁹⁵ McClain and McClain, 13.

⁹⁶ McClain and McClain, 15

Thus the courts became one of the few institutions that protected the rights of Chinese immigrants. As a result, San Francisco found it difficult to maintain its anti-Chinese ordinances against Constitutional challenges. The federal courts struck down many blatant discriminatory laws against the Chinese. To their credit, the Chinese quickly learned about their Constitutional rights and were not afraid to use the courts to resist attempts to deny them their rights. For according to the McClains: "Chinese litigants had long since established a reputation for hiring skilled and eminent counsel to represent them."⁹⁷

Anti-Chinese Politics

The labor vote was crucial to California's political parties who were nearly equal in strength. Labor leaders exploited their political power to demand a restriction of Chinese immigration and thus tip the balance of political power. In 1867, California Democrats discovered that political success could be achieved by anti-Chinese positions and by doing so, gain the labor vote. Although burdened by its pro-slavery position, the anti-Chinese issue reaped a bonanza for Democrats. Saxton gives the reason for its popularity:

But while Chinese had been identified with Negroes, hostility to Negroes was not identical with anti-Chineseness. This was of key importance; for one was tainted politically, the

⁹⁷ McClain and McClain, 14.

other was not....The party laid hands on an issue of enormous potential in its own right.⁹⁸

By seizing this anti-Chinese position, the Democrats in the 1867 elections, with their alliance with trade unions and anti-coolie clubs, swept California away from Republican control. Their success catapulted the Chinese question into a national issue. By 1876 the Republicans joined the Democrats in adapting anti-Chinese stands in their national platforms because this became the proven way to succeed in politics. Clarence Sandmeyer explained the significance of the labor vote:

In a very real sense the year 1876 marked a crisis in the anti-Chinese agitation in California.... The labor vote had attained such proportions in numbers and solidarity as to make election to public office almost impossible without its support, and it was generally understood that in order to secure the labor vote a candidate must declare against the Chinese.⁹⁹

Thus the anti-Chinese movement in California became a national issue despite the fact that the Chinese were concentrated in only a few states.

A third political party, the Workingmen's Party, under the leadership of Denis Kearney in San Francisco in 1877 declared war on the Chinese as well as on Democrats and Republicans. The famous motto of the Workingmen's Party was: "The Chinese must go." Kearney was famous for his abusive oratory on the sandlots of the city.

⁹⁸ Saxton, Indispensable Enemy, 260.

⁹⁹ Sandmeyer, 57.

Are you ready to march down to the wharf and stop the leprous Chinamen from landing?....I will give the Central Pacific just three months to discharge their Chinamen, and if that is not done, Stanford and his crowd will have to take the consequences.¹⁰⁰

With the support of the San Francisco Chronicle which launched an anti-Chinese subscription drive throughout the state, the Workingmen's Party became a major political force throughout California by 1878. According to Kearney's "Manifesto":

Before you and before the world we declare that the Chinaman must leave our shores. We declare that white men, and women, and boys, and girls, cannot live as the people of the great republic should and compete with the single Chinese coolie in the labor market. We declare that we cannot hope to drive the Chinaman away by working cheaper than he does. None but an enemy would expect it of us; none but an idiot could hope for success; none but a degraded coward and slave would make the effort. To an America, death is preferable to life on a par with the Chinaman.¹⁰¹

Thus it was no surprise that in 1878, the Workingmen's Party pressured the Board of Supervisors to find reasons to relocate Chinatown out of the city. However, this attempt failed since the Board did not have the authority to enact this.

The Workingmen's Party was at its peak in popularity when the Constitutional Convention met in 1878 to revise the 1849 California Constitution. It took the lead in writing anti-Chinese clauses, even though there was no opposition to

¹⁰⁰ See Saxton, Indispensable Enemy, 118, n. 11.

¹⁰¹ Sandmeyer, 65.

them by Democrats or Republicans. In this revised Constitution, the Chinese could not vote nor work for the state. According to Saxton:

These were contained in the definition of suffrage ("provided no native of China, no idiot, insane person, or person convicted of any infamous crimeshall ever exercise the privileges of an elector of this State"), and in the famous Article XIX which forbade employment of "any Chinese or Mongolian" (except in punishment of crime) on state or local public works or, directly or indirectly, by a corporation operating under the laws of California.¹⁰²

Eventually these anti-Chinese clauses were struck down by the federal courts as they clearly violated the United States Constitution. The only provision that was left unchallenged was an act against the Chinese Six Companies (CCBA). A certificate issued by the Six Companies proving that a Chinese had paid all of his debts was needed before a steamship company could issue him a return ticket to China. Yet this certificate was deemed unnecessary: "This act made it a misdemeanor for any transportation company to refuse any person a passage ticket on the ground that he had not presented a certificate showing that he had paid all of his obligations."¹⁰³

A pattern was established in which local and blatant anti-Chinese laws struck down by the federal courts. Thus anti-Chinese forces such as organized labor were forced to

¹⁰² See Saxton, Indispensable Enemy, 128, n. 33.

¹⁰³ Sandmeyer, 74.

appeal for national legislation against the Chinese. This culminated in the 1882 Exclusion Act in which the Chinese became the only group to be barred from immigrating to the United States.

Chinese Christians in San Francisco

It is within this social, economic and political discrimination that the marginality of the Chinese in San Francisco can be understood. When they converted to Christianity, the Chinese faced the additional barrier of Christian racism.

Marginality

Chinese Christians faced antagonism from three groups: whites, white Christians, and their fellow Chinese. They became a religious minority within an ethnic minority. It has been estimated that there about 4,000 baptized converts in 1900 after fifty years of mission work among the Chinese. By 1910, the World Missionary Conference put the number at 6,500. To put this number in context, there were about 326,000 Chinese immigrants. Thus Chinese Christians comprised less than 2 percent of the population. Wesley Woo point out that: "As in the case of nineteenth-century China, the ratio of converts to the whole population was minuscule."¹⁰⁴

The barriers to converting the Chinese were many. According to Ira Condit, a Presbyterian missionary to the

¹⁰⁴ Woo, "Chinese Protestants," 217.

Chinese: "[I]n San Francisco Chinatown there were temples, heathen rich merchants, and the Chinese Six Companies--all making conversion difficult."¹⁰⁵ Yet due to the efforts of white missionaries, the Chinese church in San Francisco became established as a small, but significant institution in Chinatown.

Marginalized by whites. Anti-Chinese forces triumphed in 1882 when the Exclusion Act was passed which prohibited further Chinese immigration. These feeling impacted the Chinese missions which were harassed by rocks and refuse thrown at their windows. For example, when some young men went to a chapel service at a Presbyterian mission, they were "provoked at seeing Chinese entering the kingdom of heaven before them: some get up and slide out, slamming the door after them."¹⁰⁶

This anti-Chinese sentiment reacted against street preaching by missionaries preaching to the Chinese. For example, when the Methodist minister Rev. Frederic Masters preached in the streets of Chinatown around 1885, there were

crowds of up to 350 persons would gather to hear hymns, prayers, and sermons in Chinese. But street preaching was often disrupted by anti-

¹⁰⁵ Wesley Woo, "Protestant Work Among the Chinese in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1850-1920" (Ph.D. diss., Graduate Theological Union, 1983), 47.

¹⁰⁶ See Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions (hereafter PBFM), Chinese Mission Annual Report (1881), 3 quoted in Woo, "Protestant Work," 168.

Chinese elements and police were needed to prevent this from happening.¹⁰⁷

Marginalized by white Christians. Chinese Christians were attacked by white Christians during the time of anti-Chinese agitation. The Jesuits were accused by one minister of being "ever active in rousing race prejudice and fomenting class hatred"¹⁰⁸ against the Chinese and no Chinese problem would exist "were there no turbulent European element on our hands, holding the ballot, swayed by crafty priests and designing demagogues."¹⁰⁹

In 1873, a prominent Jesuit priest named Father John Chrysostom Bouchard delivered an anti-Chinese lecture entitled "Chinaman or White Man, Which?" He characterized the Chinese as "these pagan, these vicious, these immoral creatures, that are incapable of rising to the virtue that is inculcated by the religion of Jesus Christ, the World's Redeemer."¹¹⁰ Bouchard gave a litany of familiar anti-Chinese accusations.

He charged further that the Chinese were an inferior race engaged in servile labor, that they

¹⁰⁷ Woo, "Protestant Work," 62.

¹⁰⁸ A. J. Hanson, "Our Pacific Coast Problem," Methodist Quarterly Review 33 (Jan. 1881): 34, quoted in Robert Seager II, "Some Denominational Reactions to Chinese Immigration to California, 1856-1892," Pacific Historical Review 28 (1959): 56.

¹⁰⁹ Hanson in Seager, 56.

¹¹⁰ E. S. Todd, "Some Phases of the Chinese Problem," Methodist Quarterly Review 30 (April 1878): 288, quoted in Seager, 55.

paid no taxes, that they drained the country of its wealth by sending their money home to China, and that they cheapened labor, driving unemployed white workers into beggary, prostitution, and crime.¹¹¹

Bouchard also "denounced all missionary work among the Chinese here as abortive, and stated that the conversion of the Chinese in their own country was almost an impossibility."¹¹²

In response, Rev. Otis Gibson was asked by San Francisco Methodist pastors to give a rebuttal. He said that Protestant missions work has resulted in "about one hundred Chinamen have been baptized and received into the various Churches, and a thousand others have been greatly improved both in mind and manners."¹¹³ Gibson also mentions the rescue of six Chinese women from prostitution. Gibson's speech was printed as a pamphlet in which over two thousand copies were distributed and whose costs were paid for by grateful Chinese merchants.

A Congregational minister named Mr. Starr, unable to find employment, gave anti-Chinese talks around the country for a few months. According to Gibson,

Mr. Starr, however, enjoys the unenviable distinction of being the only Protestant clergyman on the Pacific Coast who has publicly identified himself with the Anti-Chinese movement, except it

¹¹¹ Seager, 55.

¹¹² Otis Gibson, The Chinese in America (Cincinnati: Hitchcock and Walden, 1877), 245.

¹¹³ Gibson, 275.

be a Methodist minister, Rev. H. Cox, D.D., who made one of the addresses at that notorious Anti-Chinese mass meeting held in Union Hall, April 5, 1876.¹¹⁴

An Episcopalian bishop, William Inghram Kip, also expressed anti-Chinese sentiment. He compared the Chinese to blacks, noting that "between the Mongolian and the Anglo-Saxon races, there is a 'deep gulf' as impassable as that which at the South separates the white and slave population."¹¹⁵

In addition to ministers, some churches refused to grant membership to Chinese converts and objected to any Chinese present in their activities. Other churches welcomed the Chinese to worship with them such as the Third Congregational Church in San Francisco. Seven Chinese converts wanted to be baptized and become members of the church. While a majority of the Standing Committee voted in favor, a minority wanted a period of two months to examine the fitness of the Chinese. This probation period was then extended six more months. This resulted in strong feelings against those who wanted to prevent someone joining the church because of race. The church then baptized the Chinese. In response to this, the Congregational General Association of California resolved unanimously,

¹¹⁴ Gibson, 281-82.

¹¹⁵ See Spirit of Missions 20 (March 1855): 85-86 quoted in Woo, "Protestant Work," 87.

that the doors of our places of worship are freely open for the admission of all persons of this or any other class, and that we welcome all who give evidence of conversion to Christ, to complete fellowship with us in the Gospel.¹¹⁶

However, when the pastor, Rev. William C. Pond, resigned, the Chinese refused to be received into the church. He then organized in 1873 a new work, Bethany Church, to accommodate the Chinese and about twenty whites who left Third Church. Thus it was an integrated church and by 1892, grew to some 342 members, about two-thirds white and one third Chinese. But in 1904, 199 Chinese members broke away to organize the Chinese Congregational Church. The pastor of this new church, Jee Gam "said that the American members of Bethany have been generous and large-hearted. But the Chinese membership was growing and Bethany was too far (3 miles) from Chinatown."¹¹⁷

Rev. Pond wanted the Chinese converts to join the church which sponsored the Chinese mission. But he noted:

There was a middle wall of partition between the Chinese or Japanese and the American members of the church, not only in different languages spoken, but also in the different modes of Christian work, the different social aptitudes [sic] and even the different measure and modes of Christian experience.¹¹⁸

Thus Chinese church members had no real part in the work of

¹¹⁶ See American Missionary 17 (Jan. 1873): 11, quoted in Woo, "Protestant Work," 70.

¹¹⁷ Woo, "Protestant Work," 74-75.

¹¹⁸ PBFM, Minutes of 17 May 1915, 53-54 quoted in Woo, "Protestant Work," 172.

Thus Chinese church members had no real part in the work of the American churches they belonged to and its ministry had no real relationship to the Chinese.

This indicated a need for separate Chinese churches. Yet Congregationalists desired these separate Chinese churches to be under the care of a more mature American church. These Chinese "branch churches" could be of mutual assistance, especially in helping the Chinese develop church leaders. However, the "other denominations focused more on developing separate Chinese churches with no ties to American congregations."¹¹⁹

In light of the prevailing anti-Chinese sentiment, these feelings were also present in the churches in San Francisco. This is why, according to Woo,

denominational mission agencies were directly involved in Chinese mission work. Apart from the matter of funds, one major reason for this was the feeling that local race prejudice made adequate local support problematic and necessitated outside support.¹²⁰

Marginalized by the Chinese. The Chinese encountered many obstacles when they decided to become Christian converts. Like in China, they were shunned by their own people because of their acceptance of a foreign religion. A Congregational leader in San Francisco, Fung Affoo, said in 1878 that potential converts faced "the loss of friends and

¹¹⁹ Woo, "Protestant Work," 173.

¹²⁰ Woo, "Protestant Work," 106.

on in order to come to America in the first place."¹²¹
 Conflicts with family and friends were quite common. An example of this was the story of Lem Chung, another Congregationalist, who was converted in 1880. His father wrote him this letter:

What are you doing out there? Are you going to believe Jesus and leave all your countrymen, and your ancestors, and idols, and Confucius unserved?....No other way better than Confucius; so many of your countrymen do not believe Christ. You must leave off and come back to our own way [sic].¹²²

It was clear that a Christian like Lem Chung was perceived to have forsaken his country and his Chinese heritage.

Another example was Chin Toy, who later became a Congregational leader and pastor, was locked up in a room by his cousin to persuade him not to be baptized. He later said:

We Chinese christians [sic] are very much hated by our relatives, they say that the Christians are a people of no use--ungrateful, and full of infidelity, because we do not worship ancestors and believe as they do.¹²³

In a third example, converts such as Fong Won were tempted by friends to go back to gambling and smoking when

¹²¹ See American Missionary 34 (March 1880): 85-86 quoted in Woo, "Protestant Work," 204.

¹²² See American Missionary 34 (March 1880): 85-86 quoted in Woo, "Protestant Work," 204.

¹²³ Chin Toy, "An Address of Chin Toy in San Diego, at the Fifth Anniversary of the Congregational Chinese Mission of that City," 9 Feb. 1890, 5, quoted in Woo, "Protestant Work," 205.

tempted by friends to go back to gambling and smoking when he was returning to China. They told his family that because he was a Christian, Fong Won "acted like a crazy man, gave up our father's teaching and customs and do everything like the foreigners."¹²⁴

Only on rare occasions were converts not confronted with adversity. Lee Sing feared persecution when he returned to China, but his parents did not force him "to worship idols or ancestors because they said if I [he] did well and have [sic] a good character they would feel satisfied."¹²⁵ Even rarer was when the parents who became interested in Christianity or who were already converted.

There was thus a huge gulf between Christianity and Chinese culture, religion and ethnic identity. "Chinese Christians attempted to lessen some of this conflict, yet without violating their new-found religious values."¹²⁶ They had to affirm that they could be a Christian without being disloyal to their culture. For example, they could affirm filial piety because of the Fifth Commandment.

Chinese Christians had to declare that they could be both Christian and Chinese; that they would not be less

¹²⁴ Fong Won, "Trials and Victories," California Chinese Mission Annual Report (1891), 27-28 quoted in Woo, "Protestant Work," 205.

¹²⁵ Chinese Christian Mission Annual Report (1893), 20, quoted in Woo, "Protestant Work," 206.

¹²⁶ Woo, "Protestant Work," 206.

Congregational Association of Christian Chinese had the following provision in their regulations:

AGAINST DISPUTES ABOUT CUSTOM: The Holy Scriptures are the great rule for salvation of all nations, and are, therefore, unlike the teachings of the sages whose rules and customs are laid down only with reference to a particular locality. Even in China our customs and laws are not uniform. Therefore, the usages and customs, either of China or of foreigners, if they are inimical to the soul's salvation can be followed. (The meaning is that Christ's religion in [sic] is not intended to denationalize people.)¹²⁷

On a more personal level, Lee Gam could state that:

I am an Chinaman and a Christian. I am not any less Chinese for being a follower of Christ. My love to Jesus has intensified rather than belittled my love for my native country....I am in some sense also an American, for I have lived in America almost twice as long as in China.¹²⁸

However, there were ambivalent feelings about the relationship between Christianity and Confucianism. Huie Kin, a Presbyterian minister, described an incident in which some Confucians debated a Chinese speaker at a church service. He recalled that it was a long and emotional affair since Christianity and Confucianism were seen to be in opposition to each other. Like other Chinese Christians, Huie Kin was torn between "appeals for our loyalty to the Word of God on the one side and on the other to the age-old

¹²⁷ Chinese Christian Mission Annual Report (1889), 22-23, quoted in Woo, "Protestant Work," 206.

¹²⁸ Our Bethany (June 1893), 5-6, quoted in Woo, "Protestant Work," 207.

wisdom of our national sage."¹²⁹ Later in 1932, Huie Kin said that "it could be seen that Confucian teachings about Shang-ti, the Lord of Heaven [sic] was not unlike the Old Testament teachings about Jehovah."¹³⁰

In general, they believed that Confucianism was not totally wrong but that its incompleteness was fulfilled by Christianity. Chin Toy, mentioned earlier, described Confucius as the sun, but it was God who creates and sustains the sun. Another convert, Soo Hoo Dong, compared Confucius to Jesus in the following manner:

At first I thought our Confucius religion is the best in the world; but it is only like a lamp that burns at night, but the religion of Jesus is like the sun which can light the whole world. We have to pay so much even for a little of the light of Confucius, and this light is only for the present time. But the light of Jesus is so free: if only we believe and have faith, Jesus will open our eyes.¹³¹

There was several forms of Confucian resistance to Christianity. First, there was a series of lectures about the teachings of Confucius was sponsored by the Chinese Six Companies (CCBA). Lasting five hours, these lectures attracted between six hundred to a thousand people. Second, the newspaper Chinese World strongly supported Confucian values and "accused Christians of being anarchists in

¹²⁹ Huie Kin, Reminiscences, 32, quoted in Woo, "Protestant Work," 207-08.

¹³⁰ Huie Kin, 32, quoted in Woo, "Protestant Work," 208.

¹³¹ Our Bethany (December 1891), 5, quoted in Woo, "Protestant Work," 208.

teaching that one's duty to God was higher than one's duty to parents and rulers."¹³² Through its editorials in late 1910 and early 1911, the Chinese World espoused the merits of Confucianism and the weaknesses of Christianity.

Refuting these accusations of the Chinese World was the newspaper, Chung Sai Yat Po, which was founded by Ng Poon Chew, a Presbyterian pastor. Although it was owned and operated by Christians, it was not an official Christian newspaper. When Kang Yu-Wei, the founder of Pao-Huang Wui (Protect the Emperor Association) wanted the support of the Chung Sai Yat Po, he had to first give up any reference to Confucianism. According to Woo's interpretation: "This debate between Christians and Confucianists was exploited for political purposes since, at the time, there were various political parties seeking support for their views for modernizing China."¹³³

Chinese Christians also were confronted with how to celebrate the Chinese New Year, one of their most important cultural and religious celebrations. They maintained its social traditions such as cleaning the house, decorating it with flowers and artwork and exchanging candies and fruits with relatives and friends. But Chinese Christians modified the religious dimensions by having a New Year's Eve church service with prayers and hymns, which is what Chinese

¹³² Woo, "Protestant Work," 209.

¹³³ Woo, "Protestant Work," 209.

Baptists did in 1887. According to Woo, other Christian activities were developed to celebrate Chinese New Year.

[B]y the turn of the century it was common practice for the several missions in San Francisco, and in other towns as well, to hold joint meetings, revivals, or worship services, alongside their own denominational activities, during the week following Chinese New Year.¹³⁴

Thus these efforts demonstrated that one could be both Chinese and Christian, in honoring both traditions.

Because of the perceived contradiction between Christianity and Chinese culture, it is not surprising that their efforts to proselytize other Chinese were sometimes met with strong, if not violent resistance. Chinese Christians who preached aboard ships returning to China were often blamed or punished for bad weather. Those that preached on the streets were visible targets. Lem Chung was a regular street preacher in Sacramento's Chinatown in the early 1880s. He found a large white poster in the place where he usually preached that said in part:

It is claimed by the Christian preachers that Christ is the Lord of heaven and earth and the Creator. They only preach to make money; and it is useless to dispute with them; but something must be said to inform the people against this new false religion....Notice is hereby given that such of the Chinese people as have been converted to Christianity must not follow that way any more. Moreover, this religion must not be preached any more on the street, and if any do so they shall be arrested by the Six Companies and punished for preaching false doctrines and deceiving the people. They shall be given eighty lashes, and then dragged to the grave-yard and buried alive;

¹³⁴ Woo, "Protestant Work," 211.

their bones shall not be taken back to China, but shall remain foreign ghosts forever; and they can believe in Jesus all they are a mind to.¹³⁵

Notice that it was the Six Companies that would arrest and punish the Christian preacher. One Baptist minister was even assassinated, the Reverend Ko Chow, in May 1911.

According to Woo: "The specific motives for this murder were never determined, but one source stated that it was because of his evangelistic activity."¹³⁶

One convert who became a distinguished Christian leader when he returned to China was Fong Foo Sec. He preached for the Salvation Army along the West Coast and often suffered persecution. He said that "as a Chinese, I was more severely taken to task than the Western preachers."¹³⁷

Fong's conversion illustrates how conversion was not an easy decision, since it usually lead to conflict with one's family, friends, and community. When influenced by his Chinese teacher to become a Christian, Fong felt that:

My family has worshipped idols as our ancestors have done for generation [sic]. If I am resolved to turn to the Christian faith, I will have to discard all this. If Christianity turns out to be unreliable, I will lose heavily.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ American Missionary 35 (October 1881): 311, quoted in Woo, "Protestant Work," 211.

¹³⁶ Woo, "Protestant Work," 212.

¹³⁷ Fong Foo Sec, "A Living Lesson to the New Youth," in Memory of Dr. Fong Foo Sec, 9 quoted in Woo, "Chinese Protestants," 224,

¹³⁸ Fong, 5-6 in Woo, "Protestant Work," 219.

Conversion to Christianity sometimes involved the rejection of traditional Chinese religious practices.

A dramatic example of this can be found in Au Yeang Shing Chak (Ouyang Shengze). When he arrived in San Francisco in 1859 he was a devout Buddhist who practiced vegetarianism. Upon his conversion to Christianity in 1865 he made a "feast of meats" to show his friends that he was renouncing Buddhism. The same evening that he broke a dietary abstinence of twenty years, he was baptized.¹³⁹

There was thus a high price to pay for a Chinese to become a Christian. They were harassed by white Christians because of their race and ostracized by their own countrymen who perceived Christianity as a Western religion which was against ancestors and other Chinese traditions. They were a minority within the Chinese minority. Despite being a double minority, Chinese Christians were genuine in their commitments as attested by the missionaries.

Chinese Conflict with White Missionaries

Chinese Christian leaders served as pastors, teachers, assistants, and colporteurs in helping the mission agencies who hired and paid them. Yet these roles were in a subordinate position under a white superintendent. The issue of the control of the Chinese missions came up occasionally after 1890. The superintendent of Presbyterian Chinese work, John Laughlin, "expressed concern that an independent Chinese church would face problems of control over doctrine. He also felt a white superintendent was

¹³⁹ Woo, "Chinese Protestants," 225.

necessary."¹⁴⁰ Only after 1920 was there more willingness to allow more Chinese control of their missions.

Because of the lack of available sources, the perspective of Chinese Christians about this matter of control was unknown. When there was tension with the missionaries, it was usually attributed to personality conflict. One recorded situation revealed a clash over the limits of a Chinese pastor's authority. In 1894, Soo Hoo Nam Art became assistant pastor under Rev. Ira Condit and had responsibilities in San Francisco and Oakland. He resigned from the Presbyterian mission in 1907 because of a conflict with Condit and the superintendent, John Laughlin. According to Laughlin, Soo Hoo ordered a chapel sign "without consulting Condit, who was expected to pay the twelve or fifteen dollar bill from mission funds."¹⁴¹ Laughlin sided with Condit and said that ninety percent of the congregation supported him. When Soo Hoo angrily left to serve a mission in San Rafael, he "blamed Condit and Laughlin for treating him like a dog or slave and for driving him out of the ministry."¹⁴² This argument about a chapel sign seemed to be over the issue of power, authority, and decision-making. If so, then racial overtones may also be present, in terms of whether the Chinese could be treated

¹⁴⁰ Woo, "Protestant Work," 223.

¹⁴¹ Woo, "Protestant Work," 225.

¹⁴² Woo, "Protestant Work," 225.

equally and be in control of their affairs.

Community: The Youxue Zhengdaohui

To relieve some of the tension with missionaries over control of the missions, Chinese Christians created an institution, the Youxue Zhengdaohui (Young Men's Christian Association), within the mission structure. Although referred to as the YMCA in English, it was not related to the American organization of that name. Whether the Zhengdaohui was formed to circumvent white control of Chinese missions or not, it did serve this function. It allowed Chinese Christians to have more responsibility, leadership, initiative, authority, and decision-making.

The Youxue Zhengdaohui was established in 1871 in San Francisco in memory of Fung Seung Nam, a Baptist pastor who had recently died. It was initially an interdenominational association although the "specific denominations were not named in the historical sources, but probably were the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, and possibly Episcopalians."¹⁴³

The Congregationalists, however, withdrew in 1874 to form their own separate Zhengdaohui. The remaining denominations reorganized themselves into a federated Zhengdaohui as a legal corporation. Due to unknown reasons, the federation disbanded in 1876 and each denomination continued as separate societies. Each Zhengdaohui had its

¹⁴³ Woo, "Protestant Work," 228.

headquarters in San Francisco and established branches where its denomination had Chinese missions. These provided an important network of communication among for Christians who would otherwise be isolated. For example, in "1900 the Presbyterian Zhongdaohui had several hundred members in thirty branches in twelve states, and more than one thousand members had joined since its establishment."¹⁴⁴

More information is available about the Congregational Zhengdaohui. William Pond, mentioned previously as the pastor of the Third Congregational Church, organized a Chinese Christian Class in 1871. This provided prayer meetings and Bible studies and "maintained fraternal watch over its members. The Chinese were screened, and only after a six-month probation period could they be recommended for baptism."¹⁴⁵ This class became reorganized as the Congregational Association of Christian Chinese and became part of the interdenominational Zhengdaohui until the Congregational Zhengdaohui withdrew in 1874. By "1890, the Congregational society had more than six hundred members in an unspecified number of branches."¹⁴⁶

Religious functions. The religious purpose of the

¹⁴⁴ Ira Condit, The Chinaman as We See Him and Fifty Years of Work for Him (Chicago: Fleming Revell, 1900), 116-17, quoted in Woo, "Chinese Protestants," 227.

¹⁴⁵ Woo, "Chinese Protestants," 227.

¹⁴⁶ Joseph E. Roy, Work among the Chinese in California: A Catechism (New York: Bible House, 1890), 11 quoted in Woo, "Chinese Protestants," 227.

Congregational Association of Christian Chinese was stated in a 1889 version of its regulations:

This society is founded for religious exhortation and instruction in virtue, that all may learn about Jesus' way of the soul's salvation in severing us from all kinds of evil....The work of this society is to teach beginners the first steps in the ways of salvation, hence the name "The true [sic] Doctrine Association of Christ's Young Scholars."¹⁴⁷

One could join a Zhengdaohui only by the recommendation of a member. After this occurred, one's name was posted for one week in order to have one's conduct checked. A two-thirds vote was needed for membership approval. Then the new member paid a two-dollar initiation fee and received a Bible and the society's constitution.

In the Congregational Zhengdaohui, the basic purpose was good works, learning the doctrine of Christ's gospel, loving each other, and helping each other avoid temptation. These were fulfilled through strict membership rules as each member was to

study the doctrines of the Bible, employ his spare time in English and Chinese studies; but the most important business is to diligently study the Holy Scriptures as his daily portion and the means of regulating his daily life.¹⁴⁸

In addition to study the Bible, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed were to be learned.

¹⁴⁷ California Chinese Mission Annual Report (1889), 22 quoted in Woo, "Chinese Protestants," 227.

¹⁴⁸ California Chinese Mission Annual Report (1889), 24 quoted in Woo, "Chinese Protestants," 228.

Members were to "stand in awe of God, be loyal to civil authorities, and filial towards their parents. They must respect and love each other, and observe the laws of Heaven and man."¹⁴⁹ In terms of their conduct:

They were to refrain from gambling, drunkenness, fornication, opium smoking, and "impure" conversation. Persons of "dissolute and intemperate habits" were to be expelled, and members who quarreled and injured others were to be turned over to the civil authorities.¹⁵⁰

If a member broke the rules, three warnings were given after which expulsion would result if there were no repentance. Readmittance was only through repentance and having one's name posted in public for three months.

The Zhengdaohui conducted worship services in which one or two members would preach. The Methodist Zhengdaohui had nightly sessions for mutual support and Bible study. There was also various subsocieties for missions, relief, and evangelism. Thus the Zhengdaohui activities paralleled those of the church with the exception of not providing the sacraments.

One of their most important functions was to recruit, instruct, and screen persons for baptism and church membership. After a six-month probation period, "almost all converts joined their respective Zhengdaohui before joining

¹⁴⁹ California Chinese Mission Annual Report (1877), 22 quoted in Woo, "Chinese Protestants," 228.

¹⁵⁰ Condit, 123-24 quoted in Woo, "Chinese Protestants," 229.

the church."¹⁵¹ The importance of becoming a member was noted by a 1897 Congregational report in which "joining the Zhengdaohui itself implied a profession of faith in Christ and that the conditions for admission to this society were identical in spirit to those required for church membership."¹⁵² Thus screening and preparing converts for membership in the Zhengdaohui were an important religious responsibility.

Social functions. The Zhengdaohui also played an important social role in the lives of its members especially if the convert was ostracized by non-Christian friends and family. It provided an alternate social life in which members could spend their leisure hours in the sitting rooms of the Zhengdaohui, socializing and reading. Some provided temporary lodging and the Presbyterian Zhengdaohui maintained a Young Men's Home. This was particularly important as most Chinese men were in transit and without families. As the missionary Ira Condit noted, the Zhengdaohui "brings them as near to domestic life as their circumstances will permit."¹⁵³

If a member died, the Zhengdaohui assisted in the funeral arrangements and costs and helped support the

¹⁵¹ Woo, "Chinese Protestants," 228.

¹⁵² California Christian Mission Annual Report (1897), 11 quoted in Woo, "Chinese Protestants," 228.

¹⁵³ Condit, 118 in Woo, "Chinese Protestants," 230.

survivors. According to Ira Condit, these funeral services were simple and impressive in comparison to the non-Christian Chinese funerals which were extravagant and ostentatious. One carriage was provided from the general association and one from the branch association to which the deceased belonged. These carriages carried the association's officers, teachers, and members.

Another service of the Zhengdaohui was to meet members at the dock who were returning from China and to transport them to their San Francisco destination for a modest fee. This transportation service was usually provided by the Chinese Six Companies and so members could avoid depending upon them. In a 1889 report, smuggling of any form was prohibited according to the regulations of the Zhengdaohui.¹⁵⁴

The Zhengdaohui also challenged the role and power of the Chinese Six Companies (CCBA). The Six Companies had an arrangement with the Pacific Mail Steamship Company in which their exit permits, issued by the Six Companies, were needed to buy a ticket to return to China. Without this permit, a fee of one hundred dollars was required to buy a ticket costing twelve dollars in 1874. To obtain an exit permit, the Chinese had to pay their debts including their membership dues to the Six Companies.

¹⁵⁴ California Chinese Mission Annual Report (1889), 24 quoted in Woo, "Protestant Work," 235.

Because the Six Companies received much of their income from these membership dues, Chinese Christians did not want

to support what they perceived to be an idolatrous institution. They successfully challenged the authority of the Six Companies to be the sole agent issuing exit permits and secured the right to issue permits of their own, through their own organizations.¹⁵⁵

In 1874, exit permits were issued by the different Zhengdaohui to their members. The procedure for obtaining an exit permit from the Zhengdaohui was similar to those of the Six Companies. Permits were requested two weeks in advance during which time the individual's name would be publicly posted. This would give anyone a chance to clear up any matters with this person such as settling debts. Membership dues would have to be paid. What was different was that these permits were "countersigned by the pastor of the particular church involved."¹⁵⁶

In providing an alternative organization, the Zhengdaohui fulfilled many of the same social functions as the clan and district associations. Yet this did not preclude some Chinese Christians from belonging to other Chinese associations.

Some of the Chinese leaders who testified before the 1876 Special Committee on Chinese Immigration of the California State Senate said that Chinese Christians were members of their associations. One leader said that most Christians belonged to the "See Yup Company," and another stated that

¹⁵⁵ Woo, "Protestant Work," 210.

¹⁵⁶ Woo, "Chinese Protestants," 230.

there were ten to fifteen Christians in the "Yung-wo Company."¹⁵⁷

The Zhengdaohui as secular? Some missionaries had problems with the Zhengdaohui because they perceived it to be a Chinese secular association. In 1877, John Glasgow Kerr, a medical missionary in China, was in charge of the Presbyterian Chinese mission. Kerr felt that the Zhengdaohui was dominated by non-church members while the few church members were not mature Christians. According to Woo, Kerr

believed that this organization had the same status as the Chinese Six Companies and that many joined it to avoid exactions by the Six Companies. Kerr stated that the Zhengdaohui members showed an unchristian spirit toward his authority and acted as if the church were under their control.¹⁵⁸

This dispute was over the lack of submission to Kerr's "authority" and to the church's "control" by members of the Zhengdaohui; thus it was a dispute over power.

H. V. Noyes, another China missionary who was on furlough, also believed that the Zhengdaohui was not a Christian group, but rather a mutual aid society. He was upset that the members of the Sacramento Zhengdaohui had

converted part of the mission house into a sleeping room and residence without his permission. Later, Noyes called the Zhengdaohui a

¹⁵⁷ California State Legislature, Senate, Special Committee on Chinese Immigration, Chinese Immigration: Its Social, Moral, and Political Effect (Sacramento: State Publishing Office, 1878), 71, 97 in Woo, "Chinese Protestants," 231.

¹⁵⁸ Woo, "Chinese Protestants," 231-32.

hypocritical and idolatrous guild in which men too ignorant to read their own language intelligently were explaining Scripture.¹⁵⁹

Again, it was a dispute over power in that the Zhengdaohui did not obtain Noyes' "permission." When Noyes addressed the San Francisco Zhengdaohui in 1878, he listed the following irregularities:

1. There were no faithful records of business meetings.
2. Exit permits issued to members returning to China were not signed by the missionary and the president of the organization.
3. The society assumed judicial powers in trying a member accused of a crime and in issuing a fine.
4. The society collected this fine of three hundred dollars and kept it for its own use.
5. The society retained members of immoral character.
6. Persons joined the society to avoid levies of the Six Companies.
7. The society was controlled in large measure by members who were neither Christian nor in sympathy with Christians.¹⁶⁰

As a result of these irregularities, Kerr then severed the relationship between the Presbyterian mission and the Zhengdaohui and "about two-thirds of the members seceded."¹⁶¹

In response to the continuing attacks by Kerr and

¹⁵⁹ Woo, "Chinese Protestants," 237.

¹⁶⁰ Woo, "Chinese Protestants," 236.

¹⁶¹ Woo, "Chinese Protestants," 237.

Noyes, the term ji du (Christ) was added to the name of the Zhengdaohui. Some Chinese Christians also supported Kerr. In a letter to the Board of Foreign Missions, they stated that "those who worship idols and their ancestors have seized authority in the Association and this has given rise to disorder."¹⁶² Unfortunately there was no record of the Chinese who opposed the actions of Kerr and Noyes. Neither were there sources that revealed how this conflict was finally resolved except that Augustus Loomis defended the Zhengdaohui and reestablished it in the Presbyterian mission.

The perception of the Zhengdaohui as a secular organization was not limited to Presbyterian missionaries such as Kerr and Noyes. A 1883 report of the Methodist Church's Chinese mission "commented that the Zhengdaohui had given up the idea of becoming a competing Chinese company and was devoting itself to sowing gospel seeds."¹⁶³ The Congregational Chinese mission's annual report in 1884 had to defend the Zhengdaohui because other denominations had questioned its usefulness. According to Woo: "This report considered the schools, teachers, and Chinese helpers the 'right arm' of the mission and the Congregational

¹⁶² Woo, "Chinese Protestants," 233.

¹⁶³ Methodist Church, Chinese Mission Report (1883), 6 in Woo, "Chinese Protestants," 233.

Association of Christian Chinese the 'left arm.'"¹⁶⁴

The Baptist, Presbyterian and Methodist Zhengdaohui continued into the 1920s although their functions began to change. The Baptist Zhengdaohui expanded its ministry to include youth and to engage believers in Christian service. The Presbyterian Zhengdaohui was renamed the Young Men Christian Association and merged with the Sunning Missionary Society (a Chinese Presbyterian group) in 1929 to become the American-Chinese Presbyterian Missionary Society. Other Zhengdaohui had a greater emphasis on missions in China.

By the 1930s the Zengdaohui ceased to exist, possibly due to the fact that Chinese Christians were more and more in official leadership positions in their churches. One can only guess the extent to which the Zhengdaohui contributed to developing the leadership of these Chinese churches. Woo concluded that: "In general, even the missionaries recognized the importance of this organization for spreading and promoting Christianity among the Chinese in America."¹⁶⁵

Civic activities. Chinese Christians joined their compatriots in protesting anti-Chinese sentiment and legislation. In the early 1850s, two Christians, Norman Asing and Tong Achick issued a protest statement against

¹⁶⁴ California Chinese Mission Annual Report (1884), 14 quoted in Woo, "Chinese Protestants," 233.

¹⁶⁵ Woo, "Chinese Protestants," 229.

Governor John Bigler of California when he made racist remarks against Chinese immigration. Tong Achick also headed a delegation in an attempt to change the view of the governor. In 1876, the president of the federated Zhengdaohui and a Methodist worker, Lee Tong Hay, signed a memorial to President Grant along with the presidents of the various Chinese associations. According to Woo, the content of this memorial was to seek "protection from atrocities committed against the Chinese and answering fallacious charges levied against them."¹⁶⁶ This memorial was willing to let the United States either cut off or limit the number of Chinese immigrants. However, it was clear to emphasize that protection of the Chinese already in this country was needed.

In 1892, a member of the San Francisco Chinese Baptist Church, Dong Gong wrote a lengthy letter to Jesse Hartwell, Superintendent of Chinese work for the American Baptist Home Missionary Society. He asked that Hartwell urge pastors to write to the President and to Congress to protect the Chinese in America. Dong Gong based his appeal on the treaties between America and China and he criticized the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and subsequent acts to restrict immigration.

Dong also appealed to God's providence in bringing the Chinese to America in order that China might be

¹⁶⁶ Woo, "Protestant Work," 245-46.

Christianized. According to Woo, "Dong, like other Chinese Christians, was particularly concerned about Chinese Christian leaders from China being denied entry to America."¹⁶⁷

In the February 1902 issue of American Missionary, there was a detailed article entitled "Chinese Exclusion, from the Standpoint of a Christian Chinese" by Jee Gam. Jee argued that, while America had the right to restrict immigration, its laws must be applied impartially to all groups and not just to exclude the Chinese. For Jee, "there was no reason to exclude Chinese laborers, especially when pauper laborers from Europe were being admitted."¹⁶⁸ He suggested that five thousand Chinese be allowed to immigrate each year.

Jee also questioned the Christian convictions of pastors like Isaac Kalloch who held anti-Chinese views and who later became mayor of San Francisco: "[I]t hurts the Christian Chinese very much; it hurts the Chinese in general more; and it hurts the cause of Christ most."¹⁶⁹

The most widely known Chinese Christian to the general public was Ng Poon Chew, a Presbyterian pastor and founder of the Chinese newspaper Chung Sai Yat Po. He became widely

¹⁶⁷ Woo, "Protestant Work," 248.

¹⁶⁸ Woo, "Protestant Work," 248.

¹⁶⁹ Jee Gam, "Chinese Exclusion from the Standpoint of a Christian Chinese," American Missionary 56 (Feb. 1902): 100 quoted in Woo, "Protestant Work," 250.

known after serving as a China Vice-Consul and as a lecturer on the Chautauqua circuit. Ng spoke out against anti-Chinese agitation in his editorials, speeches, and publications. Like others, he felt that the "exclusion of Chinese ran counter to the letter and spirit of treaty agreements between China and the United States."¹⁷⁰ Ng was especially concerned that even the Chinese exempt from immigration restrictions such as merchants and students were unfairly treated. He suggested that Chinese immigration could be increased by requiring certifications of character and literary tests.

In 1901 he was sent on a national tour by the San Francisco Chinese Christian community and by some Chinese regional associations to inform the public about the need for changes in the immigration laws. Ng was sent on another tour in 1905 financed by the Chinese Six Companies which included an audience with President Roosevelt. Ng felt that this meeting was "influential in getting Chinese minister and newspaper editors reclassified as educators, and not laborers for immigration purposes."¹⁷¹

These two tours by Ng show cooperation between Christian and non-Christian Chinese in opposing the larger issue of anti-Chinese expressions. When confronted with American racism, they could put aside their differences and

¹⁷⁰ Woo, "Protestant Work," 251-52.

¹⁷¹ Woo, "Chinese Protestants," 238.

work together as a united front. Chinese churches joined the Chinese Six Companies in organizing a boycott of American goods in 1905 to protest the unequal treaties between the United States and China. However this boycott was shortlived.

Chinese Christians also joined community efforts in protesting the 1900 quarantine of Chinatown when it was presumed that a Chinese male died from bubonic plague. San Francisco health officials had Chinatown quarantined the next day. The Chinese and even the missionaries felt that this action was motivated by racial animosity. Chinese Christians publicly supported the Chinese Six Companies in fighting this quarantine in the courts.

They also issued a letter to the churches in San Francisco calling for their help. This letter declared the quarantine to be unjust, inhuman, and uncalled for. It said that the Board of Health would never issue a quarantine for any other district in the city, but was attacking the Chinese.¹⁷²

When the quarantine was finally lifted three months later, there was an interdenominational thanksgiving service in which "a Six Companies representative expressed gratitude to the churches for the stand they took."¹⁷³

Conclusion. Chinese Christians in San Francisco had both Christian allies and enemies. While some white

¹⁷² Our Bethany (June 1900): 5-6 quoted in Woo, "Protestant Work," 255.

¹⁷³ Our Bethany (June 1900): 5 quoted in Woo, "Protestant Work," 256.

missionaries accused the Zhengdaohui, other missionaries like Otis Gibson wrote pamphlets and books to defend the Chinese. While there were some anti-Chinese pastors like Isaac Kalloch, there were also pastors like William Pond who started a new integrated church to accommodate the Chinese and Euro-American Christians.

Chinese Christians were also allies and enemies of Chinese organizations. They could support Chinese efforts to fight anti-Chinese sentiment and help in some civic activities. Some Chinese Christians belonged to both the Zhengdaohui and district associations. Yet they took a stand against the Chinese Six Companies because they did not want to support them by paying for their exit permit (which included membership dues) to return to China. They were able to organize against the Six Companies and arrange for their own Zhengdaohui to issue these exit permits.

Thus Chinese converts were not "rice Christians" because they had to stand by their religious convictions against their countrymen who accused them of forsaking their Confucian tradition. They believed that they could be both Chinese and Christian. The formation of the Zhengdaohui can be seen as an example of their strong beliefs and their need to strengthen their Christian identity and community.

CHAPTER 5

The Jewish Diaspora

Within the Hellenistic world, the Jewish diaspora penetrated the major cities of the Roman empire such as in Rome, Antioch, Ephesus, Sardis, and Alexandria. According to Rodney Stark, diaspora Jews were numerous, urban, and prosperous:

[T]he Hellenized Jews of the diaspora outnumbered the Jews living in Palestine. Johnson (1979) suggests there were a million in Palestine and four million outside, while Meeks (1983) places the population of the diaspora at five to six million. It also is worth noting that the Hellenized Jews were primarily urban--as were the early Christians outside Palestine. Finally, the Hellenized Jews were not an impoverished minority, they had been drawn from Palestine over the centuries because of economic opportunities. By the first century, the large Jewish sections in major centers such as Alexandria were known for their wealth.¹

Strabo, quoted by Josephus said: "Jews are already gotten into all cities; and it is hard to find a place in the habitable earth that hath not admitted this tribe of men, and is not possessed by them."²

As with the Chinese, there were similar reasons for Jewish emigration, according to E. Mary Smallwood:

¹ Rodney Stark, "Jewish Conversion and the Rise of Christianity: Rethinking the Received Wisdom," in Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers, 1986, ed. Kent Harold Richards (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 319.

² Josephus, The Antiquities of the Jews, 14.7.2.115 in Josephus, The Works of Josephus: Complete and Unabridged, trans. William Whiston (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1987).

[d]iscontent with the Ptolemaic and Seleucid rule in Palestine, over-population and land shortage, and promising commercial prospects....by the first century A.D. the widespread dispersion of the Jews had taken place, and probably few costal cities of the eastern Mediterranean, and few major inland cities were without a community of permanently resident Jews. Cf. Acts 2:9-11.³

Jews were drawn to these urban areas where there were more opportunities for advancement and where Jewish communities were already established. According to A. T. Kraabel:

If you were a young Jew, say, in the time of Akiba, wondering where your future would be the brightest, the cities of the Mediterranean Diaspora would have been much more desirable than anything in Palestine. Indeed they were more promising, and remained so for several centuries thereafter.⁴

Because of their large numbers, the socio-economic status of diaspora Jews varied widely. Some were forcibly deported as slaves such as the Jews captured by the Roman army and triumphantly brought to Rome after the three major Jewish revolts. On the other hand, Jews in Sardis had immigrated from Babylonia and Mesopotamia and established a community that lasted for a millennium until it was destroyed in 616 C.E. Their influence in Sardis in Asia

³ E. Mary Smallwood, The Jews under Roman Rule: From Pompey to Diocletian, Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity, vol. 20 (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 122.

⁴ A. T. Kraabel, "Synagoga Caeca: Systematic Distortion in Gentile Interpretations of Evidence for Judaism in the Early Christian Period," in "To See Ourselves As Others See Us": Christians, Jews, "Others" in Late Antiquity, eds. Jacob Neusner and Ernest S. Frerichs (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1985), 243.

Minor was demonstrated by a huge synagogue that measured "ca. 20 x 85 meters, and could contain approximately 1000 persons....[and] an integral part of a monumental Roman bath and gymnasium complex."⁵ Also, the synagogue at Ostia, where Rome's harbor was located, had a "fine four-columned inter gateway; located just off a busy street, it is private, but not obviously 'hidden.'"⁶ Archeological evidence of synagogues shows that "there is no indication of a ghetto mentality, and only late evidence of local hostility."⁷

Race in the Ancient World

Diaspora Jews were not physically different from their counterparts, with the exception of circumcision. Even if there were facial or skin color differences, Jews would not have been subjected to the modern notions of race.

Racism as it is known today is a modern ideological development that accompanied European colonialism. Thus it would be anachronistic to apply modern ideas of race to the worldview of Greco-Romans. This world had other ways of

⁵ P. W. van der Horst, "Jews and Christians in Aphrodisias in the Light of Their Relations in Other Cities of Asia Minor," Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift 43 (April 1989): 114.

⁶ A. Thomas Kraabel, "Social Systems of Six Diaspora Synagogues," in Ancient Synagogues: The State of Research, ed. Joseph Gutmann, Brown Judaic Studies, no. 22 (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1981), 81.

⁷ A. T. Kraabel, "The Roman Diaspora: Six Questionable Assumptions," Journal of Jewish Studies 32 (1982): 458.

distinguishing people of varying cultures and nationalities which was not based upon skin color.

The biblical interpreter thus enters an ancient world which was not infected with the modern heresy of biological or cultural racism. This biblical world can help racial-ethnic Christians envision an alternate worldview without color prejudice. It can also make the biblical text more prophetic concerning Euro-American racism. This can offer the religious educator the potential for exploring multiracial curricular possibilities for teaching the Bible.

While Africans were physically differentiated in the Mediterranean world, they were not novel in ancient times. Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans were well acquainted with them and first encountered blacks as warriors who, according to Frank Snowden,

commanded the respect of peoples beyond the Nubia at various times from the second millennium B.C. until the early Roman Empire. Among many Mediterraneans the first and continuing image of blacks was that of a respected ally or an enemy, often a formidable foe.⁸

Snowden records that another first impression of blacks was the Homeric view that the Ethiopians were blameless:

"Dear to the gods and renowned for their piety and justice,

⁸ Frank M. Snowden, Jr., Before Color Prejudice: The Ancient View of Blacks (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1983), 68.

Ethiopians enjoyed the favor of divine visits."⁹ Homer does not mention the physical characteristics of the Ethiopians and their precise location is uncertain. His positive view influenced later classical authors:

High-souled Ethiopians, according to Hesiod, were among the descendants of the almighty son of Kronos. Xenophanes, the first European to contrast the physical characteristics of Negroes and whites, described Ethiopians and Thracians as he saw them and implied nothing as to the superiority or inferiority of either, whether physical, aesthetic, mental, or moral. Like Xenophanes, the artists who fashioned Janiform Negro-white heads depicted accurately what they saw. In short, those Greeks who first described and depicted dark or Negroid peoples did so without bias.¹⁰

Thus Greeks and Romans viewed Africans in a positive light and this continued in their prolonged contact with them. In contrast to the first impression of Africans by English in the mid-sixteenth century, black skin was not identified with slavery. This was due to the fact that black slaves were in the minority, for according to Snowden:

In antiquity slavery was independent of race or class, and by far the vast majority of the thousands of slaves was white, not black. The identification of blackness with slavery did not develop. No single ethnic group was associated with slave status or with the descendants of slaves.¹¹

Their dark skin did not prevent Ethiopians from being

⁹ Frank M. Snowden, Jr., Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1970), 216.

¹⁰ Snowden, Blacks in Antiquity, 216.

¹¹ Snowden, Before Color Prejudice, 70.

integrated into society. There was neither social pressure nor Greco-Roman laws against interracial unions so miscegenation was not uncommon. Snowden states that:

Ethiopian blood was interfused with that of Greeks and Romans. No Greek or Roman author condemned such racial mixture. Martial and Juvenal condemned adultery when a mulatto child was evidence of illicit relations but said nothing of "racial purity." The scientists Aristotle and Pliny, like Plutarch, commented as scientists on the physical appearance of those born of black-white racial mixture but included nothing resembling certain modern strictures on miscegenation.¹²

Thus the innate inferiority of blacks was nonexistent in the ancient world. They were not viewed as beasts or savages, cursed by God, and without religion or culture. Snowden concluded that: "[B]lack emigres were not excluded from opportunities available to others of alien extraction, nor were they handicapped in fundamental social relations--they were physically and culturally assimilated...."¹³

Like the Greeks and Romans, the early Christians viewed the blackness of the Ethiopians as inconsequential. They were welcomed into the church as converts such as the Ethiopian eunuch whom Phillip baptized (Acts 8:26-40). In fact, according to Snowden, the Ethiopian became an ecumenical symbol of the church's worldwide mission.

On the other hand, the negative symbolism of blackness was used to describe the devil and some demons. As early as

¹² Snowden, Blacks in Antiquity, 195.

¹³ Snowden, Before Color Prejudice, 108.

the Epistle of Barnabas, the devil was described as the Black One (4:10) whose ways are crooked, full of curses, destroys men's souls, and which leads to eternal death (20:1). In the Acts of Peter 22, a demon is described as "a most evil-looking woman, who looked like an Ethiopian, not an Egyptian, but was all black...."¹⁴

Yet the color association of blackness with the devil and demons did not lead to anti-black sentiment in the church fathers. For example, Origen pioneered the use of the Ethiopian for black-white symbolism. In one of his homilies, he interpreted the words of the bride, "I am black and beautiful" (S. of S. 1:5) in the following way:

We ask in what way is she black and in what way fair without whiteness. She has repented of her sins; conversion has bestowed beauty upon her and she is sung as "beautiful"....if you repent, your soul will be "black" because of your former sins, but because of your penitence your soul will have something of what I may call an Ethiopian beauty.¹⁵

Origen viewed Moses' marriage to a Ethiopian woman and the visit of Queen of Sheba to Solomon as symbolic of the universal church. Like Homer's Ethiopians, Origen saw them as the most distant of men but who will become part of the church.

Origen reflected the classical tradition that the

¹⁴ Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher, eds., New Testament Apocrypha, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1965), 305.

¹⁵ Origen, Homiliae in Canticum Canticorum 1.6 in Snowden, Before Color Prejudice, 103.

"blackness of the Ethiopians was only skin-deep. Blacks could have a soul as pure as the whitest of whites...."¹⁶ Like other early church fathers, Origen's black-white symbolism "was rooted in a Weltanschauung in which skin color did not give rise to a marked antipathy toward blacks and did not evoke negative reactions in the domain of social behavior."¹⁷

Jewish Identity

If Ethiopians could be physically and culturally assimilated into Greco-Roman society, then diaspora Jews could have an easier time assimilating since their physical features were not visibly different. This option of assimilation, according to Molly Whittaker, was because the

Romans were not given to colour-prejudice. It is noteworthy that the physical features of the Jews, apart from circumcision which was superimposed, are not described. A swarthy complexion would not be enough to distinguish the Jews from other Semitic immigrants who were continually flocking into Rome.¹⁸

Yet if they chose not to observe their unique socio-religious practices, the Jews could assimilate or even lapse into paganism like Philo's nephew, Tiberius Julius Alexander, who repudiated Judaism. But it is possible that

¹⁶ Snowden, Before Color Prejudice, 103.

¹⁷ Snowden, Before Color Prejudice, 107.

¹⁸ Molly Whittaker, Jews and Christians: Graeco-Roman Views, Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World, 200 BC to AD 200, vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1984), 12.

only a minority of Jews chose this alternative.

Jews sought to retain their ethnic identity while adapting to their Hellenistic environment. According to John Collins, the majority of Jews

sought ways to reduce the dissonance while remaining Jewish but without rejecting Hellenistic culture....In some cases, Jews take issue with the Hellenistic view of Judaism and refute it (as in Josephus' Against Apion) or simply contradict it. In other cases they highlight the aspects of Judaism which were most acceptable to cultured gentiles, e.g., by representing Judaism as a philosophy, while playing down the peculiar customs and rituals.¹⁹

Thus a Hellenistic Jewish identity was forged in which mistaken views of Judaism were corrected and the distinctive factors of Jewish life such as circumcision and dietary laws were de-emphasized to their Gentile neighbors.

In their voluntary immigration, diaspora Jews also adjusted their religion in order to make their place of residence their new home. According to Kraabel: "Diaspora Jews spiritualized the Homeland. Like many immigrants in more recent times, their transplanted, transformed religion allowed them to believe that their new homeland was not alien."²⁰ Yet, on the other hand, their common connection to Palestine and Israelite religion gave Diaspora Jews a

¹⁹ John J. Collins, Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora (New York: Crossroad Publishing, 1986), 9.

²⁰ A. T. Kraabel, "Unity and Diversity among Diaspora Synagogues," in The Synagogue in Late Antiquity, ed. Lee I. Levine (Philadelphia: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1987) 57-58.

socio-religious identity that transcended national boundaries.

However, diaspora Judaism took on different forms because they did not identify with the Judaism of the Maccabees. One obvious reason was that there was no temple outside Jerusalem. Thus there were no priests and sacrifices in the synagogues of the Diaspora which resulted in lay leadership. Despite their common ethnic identity, there was little contact between Jews of Asia Minor and Egypt with Palestinian Judaism. According to Louis Feldman:

There is no mention in the entire rabbinic corpus of even a single Torah academy in all of Asia Minor. Nor is there any mention in the Talmudic and midrashic writers of a single student from Asia Minor who studied in the academies of either Palestine or Babylonia during the entire Talmudic period....²¹

One difference was possibly an earlier and deeper devotion to scripture, the Septuagint, than in Palestine where the focus was on the Temple. According to Kraabel, the "evidence for this suggestion is the popularity of the permanent Torah shrines in the Diaspora"²² which was by the wall closest to Palestine. Yet unlike their counterparts in Palestine or Babylonia, Mediterranean Jews did not find it necessary to "produce substantial, normative materials to

²¹ Louis H. Feldman, Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1993), 72.

²² Kraabel, "Roman Diaspora," 459.

supplement the Bible and adapt it to their times."²³ Yet on the other hand, for Collins: "Palestinian Judaism produced no philosopher analogous to Philo....the fact remains that the main evidence for the attempt to present Judaism in Hellenistic dress derives from the Diaspora."²⁴ For example, portions of the Mosaic law would be selectively presented "to get a sympathetic hearing from enlightened gentiles--chiefly monotheism and the prohibition of idolatry, and various sexual laws such as the prohibition of homosexuality."²⁵ The result was that "Hellenistic Jewish writers were able to project Judaism as a universal religion which was in accordance with the laws of nature."²⁶

Yet, on the other hand, Jewish identity was based upon their distinctive customs such as their food laws, circumcision, and Sabbath observance. According to Kraabel:

The result could be called a new religion, differing from traditional Palestinian Judaism, "biblical religion," as much as rabbinic Judaism had. Yet at the same time it was self-consciously and sometimes enthusiastically Jewish, prepared to survive within an environment of religious pluralism by relying on resources within the tradition.²⁷

Nevertheless, there always existed "a degree of

²³ Kraabel, "Social Systems," 54.

²⁴ John Collins, 11.

²⁵ John Collins, 142.

²⁶ John Collins, 143.

²⁷ Kraabel, "Social Systems," 58.

ambiguity in Jewish identity, with proselytes, resident aliens and God-fearers clouding any definition in simple ethnic terms."²⁸ Grey areas would include proselytes, apostates, and those who intermarry. For example, Timothy of Lystra (Acts 16:1) was a product of an mixed marriage and was not circumcised. This example from Asia Minor illustrates "a fact already known from Hellenistic Jewish authors, namely, that the issue of the requirement of circumcision for membership in Israel, both for Jews and proselytes, was unsettled among 1st century Jews."²⁹ Yet for Paul, circumcision was the sign of the old covenant and his struggle to allow Gentile converts to remain uncircumcised, according to Jack Lightstone, "makes no sense if the rite had not been characteristic of Diaspora practice."³⁰

According to Shaye Cohen, defining who was a Jew for these

boundary-crossers had to be determined by various jurisdictions and groups. The organized Jewish community, the municipal or provincial governments, and the imperial government, each had

²⁸ Dunn, 163.

²⁹ Richard E. Oster, "Christianity in Asia Minor," in The Anchor Bible Dictionary, vol. 1, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 947.

³⁰ Jack N. Lightstone, The Commerce of the Sacred: Mediation of the Divine among Jews in the Graeco-Roman Diaspora, Brown Judaic Studies, no. 59 (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1984), 94.

an interest in determining whether a given individual was a Jew.³¹

Yet one cannot assume that different groups had the same definition. For example a proselyte may be considered Jewish by the Roman government, thus liable to the Jewish tax. One community's proselyte may not be considered as one by another. For Cohen: "Jews of antiquity held a wide range of opinions about the degree to which the proselyte became just like the native born."³²

This fluid definition of Jewish identity changed with the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. The Temple tax was now converted into a poll tax by the Romans which supported the building of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.³³ This Jewish tax of two denarii a year was levied on both males and females from ages three to sixty. According to Martin Goodman: "For poorer Jews with large families the sum required was a considerable burden; for others, it signified ignominy--and strong identification with the defeated nation in Judaea."³⁴ Considerable revenues were raised from the

³¹ Shaye J. D. Cohen, "Crossing the Boundary and Becoming a Jew," Harvard Theological Review 82 (1989): 14.

³² Cohen, 14.

³³ Jews were not singled out for special taxation as Alexandrians and Asiatics were similarly taxed. See Harry J. Leon, The Jews of Ancient Rome, Morris Loeb Series (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1960), 31.

³⁴ Martin Goodman, "Diaspora Reactions to the Destruction of the Temple," in Jews and Christians: The Parting of the Ways, A.D. 70 to 135, ed. James D. G. Dunn

millions of Jews throughout the Roman empire and it "contributed substantially in this way to Vespasian's much praised rebuilding of the state finances."³⁵ Even after the Temple was completed, the tax continued to be imposed on Jews for nearly three centuries until Julian abolished it in 361 C.E.

This imperial policy of taxing the Jews as an ethnic group presupposed that all practiced Judaism. But what about apostates or Gentile converts? According to the historian Suetonius, Domitian (81-96 C.E.) broadened the tax to include these people who had previously escaped paying it under Vespasian and Titus. For Goodman, this would include those "who either followed Jewish customs without admitting their Jewishness and/or those who disguised their (ethnic) origin as Jews."³⁶ Many Roman Jews were descendants of slaves brought to Rome by Pompey but who gained citizenship after being freed. By the time of Domitian, according to Goodman, these Jews may have thought

themselves as fourth, fifth, or sixth generation Romans. It was shocking enough for such people to be penalized for the revolt of the Jews far away in Judaea when they continued to practice Judaism. Those in Rome whose connection with the rebellious nation was purely by accident of birth must have

(Tubingen: Mohr, 1992), 31.

³⁵ Leon, 31.

³⁶ Goodman, 32.

felt the insult to their Roman identity even more strongly.³⁷

Domitian's successor in 96 C.E. was Nerva whose reform of the Jewish tax allowed those who wanted to deny their Jewish religion could avoid payment of this tax. His policy had important consequences because now a Jew was defined as one who paid the Jewish tax. Jews who chose not to pay this tax would be considered apostates beyond doubt. On the other hand, the Roman state could now see that non-Jews could become Jews when proselytes paid this tax. Jewish Christians were caught in a dilemma according to Goodman: "Non-payment signified apostasy from Judaism but, then, payment might be reckoned a great sin in itself, since the funds raised went (at least in theory) to the upkeep of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome...."³⁸ Thus for the Roman state, a Jew was defined, for tax purposes, as one who only worshiped the deity whose temple was in Jerusalem to the exclusion of all others. Jewish identity was now based, not upon one's ethnic origin, but on adherence to the Jewish religion.

Jewish Community in the Roman Empire

Due to the military support of Antipater and the high priest Hyrcanus during Julius Caesar's civil war with Pompey in 49 B.C.E., the Jews seemed "more like allies than like

³⁷ Goodman, 33.

³⁸ Goodman, 34.

conquered peoples, and the Romans were generous in the rights they extended to the Jews"³⁹ according to Thomas Robinson. With his defeat of Pompey, Caesar rewarded the Jews with a charter of Jewish rights which granted them freedom to practice their religion. For Smallwood, this "formalized and legalized what had apparently been an unwritten convention that the Jews in the empire should have religious liberty and replaced ad hoc enactments by a permanent, universal legislation...."⁴⁰

Thus Jews could raise money for communal purposes such as the sending of the Temple tax to Jerusalem. Jews were exempted from military service because of their Sabbath observance, their kosher laws, and their refusal to bear arms. Harry Leon added that: "Special Jewish courts were recognized, so that cases involving only Jews could be tried by a Jewish tribunal instead of the regular Roman courts."⁴¹

Jews were thus provided with some degree of security. Smallwood stated that the "protection of the religious liberty of the Diaspora was one of Caesar's concerns, and the status of Diaspora communities as allies of Rome is

³⁹ Thomas A. Robinson, The Bauer Thesis Examined: The Geography of Heresy in the Early Christian Church (Lewiston, N.Y.: E. Mellen Press, 1988), 117.

⁴⁰ Smallwood, 135-36.

⁴¹ Leon, 10.

cited in some of the documents confirming their privileges."⁴² Roman decrees guaranteed Diaspora Jews autonomy over native customs that are spelled out in their Law: circumcision, Sabbath observance, diet, Jewish festivals, assembling for worship, and the right to hold funds and to build synagogues. Communal property such as the Torah scrolls and the Temple tax was protected from confiscation. Caesar could grant these privileges to the Diaspora communities because they were not considered a political threat and so could be safely tolerated.

Augustus continued Caesar's policy toward the Jews because in his letter to the governor of Asia Minor in 24 B.C.E., he reasserted the right of the Jews to collect the Temple tax money without any interference. He also issued a general edict in 12 B.C.E.; according to M. Stern, which repeated that the Jews can "live according to their ancestral customs, to send money to Jerusalem and to keep the Sabbath. Persons stealing Jewish holy books or sacred funds from synagogues are defined as sacrilegious."⁴³

Smallwood stated that in 2-3 C.E., Augustus sent out another edict "setting out Jewish rights in full to the proconsul in Asia, to be posted on the temple of the

⁴² Smallwood, 42.

⁴³ M. Stern, "The Jewish Diaspora," in The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions, eds., S. Safrai and M. Stern, vol. 1, Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), 146.

imperial cult at Ancyra, the most comprehensive surviving statement of the rights granted by Julius Caesar and confirmed by Augustus."⁴⁴ This included the exemption of the synagogues from the Roman ban on the collegia or associations.

Augustus added an additional Jewish privilege. According to Philo, if the free monthly distribution of food or money fell on the Sabbath, the Jews could claim their portion on the next day. For Smallwood, this "concession to Sabbath-observance had no precedent in Caesar's legislation, since only Roman citizens were eligible for the corn-doles, and Jews with the full franchise will not have been numerous in the 40s."⁴⁵ Apparently there were enough Jewish citizens to make this concession.

During Augustus' reign, according to Smallwood, the "temporary exemption from military service granted in 43 to the Jews in Asia was apparently made permanent, and presumably extended to cover all other Jewish communities."⁴⁶ More importantly, since they were a protected monotheistic cult, the Jews did not have to participate in the rituals of emperor worship which was gaining popularity in Asia Minor.

Thus by the end of Augustus' reign, the Jews in Rome,

⁴⁴ Smallwood, 143.

⁴⁵ Smallwood, 137.

⁴⁶ Smallwood, 137.

according to Smallwood, were generally pictured as a

large, well-organized community, content with its lot; for in 4 B.C. they gave a spontaneous testimonial to the security and protection which they were enjoying by their massive support of the Palestine delegation requesting direct Roman rule for their country.⁴⁷

Under Augustus' successor, Tiberius, the fortunes of the Jews changed due to his desire to preserve Rome's native religions from foreign influence. Because of a scandal, he crucified the Egyptian priests of Isis. When four Jews swindled the wife of a Roman Senator, a Jewish proselyte, out of gold and purple, Tiberius, according to Josephus,

ordered all the Jews to be banished out of Rome; at which time the consuls listed four thousand men out of them, and sent them to the island Sardinia; but punished a greater number of them, who were unwilling to become soldiers on account of keeping the laws of their forefathers. Thus were these Jews banished out of the city by the wickedness of four men.⁴⁸

Tacitus added that these four thousand men were

descendants of enfranchised slaves, tainted with that superstition and suitable in point of age, were to be shipped to Sardinia and there employed in suppressing brigandage: "if they succumbed to the pestilential climate, it was a cheap loss."⁴⁹

Because Suetonius mentioned that these freedmen were sent into military service, this meant that the Jewish military

⁴⁷ Smallwood, 138.

⁴⁸ Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews, 18.3.5.83-84, 481.

⁴⁹ Tacitus, The Annals 2.85 in The Histories IV-V, The Annals I-III, trans. John Jackson, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1962, 517.

exemption was lifted. However this banishment probably was of short duration and was limited to "only foreign Jews and freedmen, who did not enjoy the full rights of citizenship"⁵⁰ according to Leon.

When Gaius Caligula succeeded Tiberius in 37 C.E., Leon states that "the Jews formed a large element in the population of Rome and were again in full enjoyment of their well established rights."⁵¹ While Gaius caused Jewish outrage when he attempted to set up his statue in the Jerusalem temple, this action did not affect the status of the Roman Jews. His anti-Jewish policies were rescinded by Claudius who reaffirmed, but did not extend, traditional Jewish privileges.

Rome could be lenient towards the Jews in the diaspora when the Roman gods were not threatened. If this was not the case, the Jews along with other Oriental cults were expelled from Rome. In the Greek cities, according to Tessa Rajak, the Romans "could afford to respond to Jewish pressure and to the increasing weight of tradition, and the result was pro-Jewish decrees and statements of various kinds."⁵² Yet enforcement was another issue: Rajak adds

⁵⁰ Leon 19.

⁵¹ Leon, 20.

⁵² Tessa Rajak, "Jewish Rights in the Greek Cities under Roman Rule," in Approaches to Ancient Judaism: Studies in Judaism and Its Greco-Roman Context, ed. William Scott Green, vol. 5, Brown Judaic Studies, no. 23 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 28.

that "there is therefore a gap between the Roman directives and the actual status of the Jews....it is quite possible that many Roman communications were never adequately embodied in resolutions of city councils."⁵³

Antioch, Rome, and Asia Minor

Two cities stand out as pivotal in diaspora Judaism and early Christianity: Antioch and Rome. Both ranked among the largest cities in the Roman Empire and both had a significant Jewish presence amidst a dominant Gentile population. While Jews were among Antioch's founding members, they appeared late in Rome's history. A third area was in Asia Minor where Jews immigrated in large numbers at the beginning of the third century B.C.E.

Antioch

Antioch was founded by Seleucus I at the beginning of the third century B.C.E. According to Glanville Downey, it developed into "one of the three largest cities of the Roman Empire, and one of the great commercial centers of the ancient world, with business connections in all parts of the Empire."⁵⁴

According to Josephus, the Jews were among the original settlers of Antioch and so they considered themselves among the founders of the city. For Meeks and Wilken, this may be

⁵³ Rajak, 26.

⁵⁴ Glanville Downey, A History of Antioch in Syria: From Seleucus to the Arab Conquest (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1961), 272.

due to "Antioch's proximity to Palestine....as well as its importance as an administrative and commercial center, made it attractive to Jews."⁵⁵ During the reign of Augustus, their population has been estimated between a conservative figure of 22,000 to a more liberal 45,000. According to John Meier, "The Jews were no doubt spread among all classes: wealthy leaders, shopkeepers and artisans, many poor, and some slaves."⁵⁶

Because they were among the founding settlers in Antioch, the Jews as a group had the right to practice their customs although they did not have full citizenship. In the second century B.C.E., the Jews were granted the right to be metics which raised their status from being aliens. However, they suffered through the anti-Jewish persecutions in 175 B.C. by Antiochus Epiphanes. But his policy was not continued by his successors so that after his death, according to Smallwood,

a politeuma was established, giving political organization to the numerous Jews who for religious reasons had not accepted Greek citizenship, and creating two parallel citizenships, Greek and Jewish....The rights of the politeuma were publicly displayed on bronze plaques.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Wayne A. Meeks and Robert L. Wilken, Jews and Christians in Antioch in the First Four Centuries of the Common Era, Sources for Biblical Study, no. 13 (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1978), 1.

⁵⁶ Brown and Meier, 31.

⁵⁷ Smallwood, 359-60.

Within this autonomous Jewish civic group, some individual Jews were able to obtain Greek citizenship although it was not available to the Jewish community as a whole. As a separate political body, the Jews did have certain rights such as the refund of their oil tax because they were unwilling to use the oil from the gymnasiarchs.

Because of this favorable position, Jewish immigration continued steadily under the later Seleucids resulting in a community that was growing in size and wealth. Josephus records a story of "the company of five hundred Jewish mounted archers who emigrated there from Babylonia some time between 9 and 6 B.C."⁵⁸

With the conquest of Syria by the Romans in 64-63 B.C., there were no great changes for the Jewish community. Roman law continued to protect their religious freedom to use the Mosaic Law to settle their internal disputes and to contribute to the Temple in Jerusalem.

Rome

It is not known when the Jews first permanently settled in Rome for they appeared relatively late in Rome's history despite the city's growing power and influence. The first mention of Jewish presence in Rome was by Valerius Maximus in 139 B.C.E. who reported that the Jews were expelled from Rome. The Jewish community was significantly increased when in 61 B.C.E. Pompey brought back his captives including Jews

⁵⁸ Smallwood, 360.

taken from the capture of Jerusalem. According to Philo, the Jews were

mostly Roman citizens, having been emancipated; for, having been brought as captives into Italy, they were manumitted by those who had bought them for slaves, without ever having been compelled to alter any of their hereditary or national observances.⁵⁹

Leon noted that most scholars do not accept Philo's statement because Cicero's defense of Flaccus in 59 B.C.E. stated that the Jews were "already a formidable element in Roman politics, a definite indication that there must have been a solid nucleus of Jews in Rome for some years prior to 59."⁶⁰ In referring to the Jews, Cicero noted:

You know what a big crowd it is, how they stick together, how influential they are in informal assemblies. So I will speak in a low voice so that only the jurors may hear; for those are not wanting who would incite them against me and against every respectable man.⁶¹

The Jewish community was active in lobbying for the indictment of Lucius Valerius Flaccus, the governor of the Roman province of Asia in 62 B.C.E. He was accused of confiscating the gold that was sent by the Jews in Asia Minor to pay their half-shekel tribute to support the Temple in Jerusalem. The Jews were able to bring embezzlement

⁵⁹ Philo, On the Embassy to Gaius 23.155 in The Works of Philo: Complete and Unabridged, rev. ed., trans. C. D. Yonge (Peabody: Mass.: Hendrickson, 1993), 771.

⁶⁰ Leon, 5.

⁶¹ Cicero, Pro Flacco 27.66 in The Speeches, trans. Louis E. Lord, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1964), 437.

charges against him, resulting in his indictment. Defended by Cicero, Flaccus faced trial in Rome where he was acquitted. According to Cicero, Flaccus' stopping the export of gold from Asia to Jerusalem was courageous:

But to resist this barbaric superstition was an act of firmness, to defy the crowd of Jews when sometimes in our assemblies they were hot with passion, for the welfare of the state was an act of the greatest seriousness.⁶²

Yet there is no further record of Roman attempts to ban this export of Jewish gold to Jerusalem and may suggest that the Jews in the diaspora continued to send their annual contribution to the Temple. This attempt to support the indictment of Flaccus, according to Stern, "was but one in a long series of attempts on the part of the Jews of Rome to use their influence in favour of Jewish interests in other countries."⁶³

After the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., the community was again expanded by the number of enslaved Jews brought back to Rome. Josephus mentioned that along with the leaders of the revolt, Simon and John, Titus took "seven hundred men, whom he had selected out of the rest as being eminently tall and handsome of body, he gave order that they should be soon carried to Italy...."⁶⁴

Many of these prisoners of war were freed from slavery

⁶² Cicero, Pro Flacco 27.67, 439.

⁶³ Stern, 162.

⁶⁴ Josephus, The Wars of the Jews 7.5.3.118, 756.

by Roman Jews or through their own efforts.⁶⁵ The increased Jewish population in Rome in turn attracted others to immigrate here. This included noteworthy Jews such as King Agrippa II, his sister Berenice (whom Titus loved), and Josephus. In addition, distinguished Jewish scholars from Palestine visited Rome to support the Jewish community. There were aristocratic Jewish proselytes such as Flavius Clemens and his wife Flavia Domitilla, both related to Domitian, who perhaps were Christian. Yet on the other hand, Leon notes that: "From the epigraphical data, combined with literary references, it is obvious that a distressingly large proportion of the community subsisted at a low economic level, engaged in humble pursuits."⁶⁶

Estimates of the Roman Jewish population range between 20,000 to 60,000. The size of this community is reflected in the "incontrovertible evidence of the catacombs with their many thousands of tombs, several hundred inscriptions, and more important, the names of no fewer than eleven different synagogues or congregations."⁶⁷ Each Roman synagogue was self-governing and this independence was

⁶⁵ "[T]hey [Jews] were mostly Roman citizens, having been emancipated; for, having been brought as captives into Italy, they were manumitted by those who had bought them for slaves, without ever having been compelled to alter any of their hereditary or national observances." See Philo, On the Embassy to Gaius, in Works, 23.155.

⁶⁶ Leon, 258.

⁶⁷ Leon, 136.

partly due to immigration patterns since the Jews in Rome came "at different times and from different places, forming their congregations as the need arose," according to Leon.⁶⁸

Asia Minor

The population of Asia Minor was characterized by its diversity.

Commerce and trade by land and sea, entrepreneurial activities among the resident aliens from abroad, the attraction of educational opportunities (such as at the university of Tarsus) and health spas (at the renowned Asclepian spring shrines) and athletic and dramatic festivals, religious pilgrimages, mass movements of deported groups, the banishment of individuals, and the peregrinations of assorted itinerant philosophers and religious missionaries--all such occasions of movement to and from Asia Minor contributed toward the ethnic diversity of the peoples to whom and by whom the Christian gospel might be proclaimed."⁶⁹

Amidst this diversity, Jews were found in large numbers in the cities of Asia Minor throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods. According to Josephus, between 210-205 B.C.E., Antiochus III thought it

proper to remove two thousand families of Jews, with their effects, out of Mesopotamia and Babylonia, unto the castles and places that lie most convenient; for I am persuaded that they will

⁶⁸ Leon, 170.

⁶⁹ John H. Elliott, A Home for the Homeless: A Sociological Exegesis of I Peter: Its Situation and Strategy (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), 67.

be well disposed guardians of our possessions,
because of their piety towards God.⁷⁰

Josephus added that the Jews were promised that they would live under their own laws, be given land, and be exempt from taxes for ten years.

With an estimate of 250,000 Jews by the middle of the first-century B.C.E.,⁷¹ Asia Minor was a popular destination for Jewish immigrants in addition to Antioch and Alexandria. The large Jewish communities in Sardis, Ephesus, and other cities not only organized synagogues, but also appear, according to Smallwood,

to have been organized since early Hellenistic times as a politeuma, a corporation of aliens with the right of residence in the city. Such a corporation was a quasi-autonomous civic unit with administrative and judicial powers over its own members, distinct from and independent of the Greek citizen body and its local government.⁷²

In 49 B.C.E. these rights were attacked by the Greeks, but a Jewish appeal to the Roman authorities reaffirmed this privilege.

In Ephesus, Miletus, and Laodicea, the Jews were granted the right to keep the Sabbath without interference and to worship according to their customs. Although these rights had been disputed by local authorities, the Jews were supported by Rome. Stern did not think this problem was not

⁷⁰ Josephus, The Antiquities of the Jews 12.3.4.150, 317.

⁷¹ See Thomas Robinson's estimates, 115.

⁷² Smallwood, 139.

fully resolved so that "it remained for the principate of Augustus to regulate the situation and lay down fixed rules governing the status of the Jews in the various cities of Asia Minor."⁷³

Jews in Asia Minor were also given the right to collect the half-shekel donation for the Jerusalem Temple. "The earliest apparent reference to the collection of the Temple tax in Asia comes from 88 B.C. when Mithridates raided Cos and seized the money."⁷⁴ Josephus quotes Strabo that the Mithridates seized "eight hundred talents belonging to the Jews....it is evident that the Asian Jews removed this money, out of fear of Mithridates."⁷⁵ Smallwood believed a pattern existed concerning this stealing of the Jewish temple tax.

It is evident from the repeated Jewish complaints about the theft of the Temple tax and the repeated Roman reassertions of the Jews' rights in this matter that this was the chief bone of contention between them and the Greek city authorities in the East. But behind the frequent disputes there seems to have lain, in Asia at least, friction over Jewish civic status, and in the lucrative pastime of devising pretexts for confiscating the tax the Greeks could give practical expression to their hostility."⁷⁶

Agrippa preserved the right of the Jews of Asia to send their donations to the Jerusalem temple in his letter to the

⁷³ Stern, 145.

⁷⁴ Smallwood, 125.

⁷⁵ Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews, 14,7,112-3, 373.

⁷⁶ Smallwood, 143.

magistrates in Ephesus. Because this money had been previously stolen, Agrippa protected this money against theft: "and that such as steal that sacred money of the Jews, and fly to a sanctuary, shall be taken thence and delivered to the Jews, by the same law that sacrilegious persons are taken thence and delivered to the Jews...."⁷⁷

Because of continuing immigration, there was a strong Jewish presence in Antioch, Rome, and Asia Minor. The Jewish community was granted religious freedom by the Roman government, but this was a source of tension with the local population. When the Jews appealed to Rome, their religious liberty was affirmed such as the right to send the temple tax to Jerusalem. The Jewish community was granted limited political autonomy in their politeuma and individual Jews were able to obtain Greek citizenship. Thus the Jewish community had freedom to worship, but had political limitations and thus experienced a degree of marginality.

Jewish Marginality

Antioch

Increased tensions with the Greeks was the result of an increase in numbers and prosperity of the Jews in Antioch. Smallwood refers to "John Malalas' sixth century chronicle [that] records an anti-Jewish riot which developed out of a conflict between circus-factions in A.D. 39-40."⁷⁸ While

⁷⁷ Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews, 16.6.4.168.

⁷⁸ Smallwood, 360.

the reliability of this account has been questioned, it occurred at the same period as the Alexandrian disturbances in 38 C.E. and the attack of Gaius on the Temple in 39-40 C.E. These outbreaks of anti-Semitism may have resulted from Claudius' edict that re-established Jewish rights in Syria and Alexandria in 41 C.E. In addition, the desire of Jews as a group to obtain Greek citizenship may have contributed to this anti-Jewish violence.

Because of the autonomy of the politeuma, Jews may have considered themselves as members of the polis. According to Adela Collins:

Such an attitude would explain why Josephus and Philo could speak of the Jewish politeia in Greek cities, refer to Jews of the Diaspora as politai in the cities where they resided, and call them by the name of the city (e.g., "Alexandrians"), a designation usually reserved for citizens.⁷⁹

Yet on the other hand, Louis Feldman cautions that

the right, constantly granted and renewed to the Jews, to live according to their ancestral laws does not imply that the Jews anywhere in the Hellenistic Diaspora had their own independent political units, the politeumata....Zuckerman has pointed out the rather astounding fact that there is no mention of a politeuma of this nature in Philo, Josephus, or the Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum, or for that matter, in any of the

⁷⁹ Adela Yarbro Collins, "Insiders and Outsiders in the Book of Revelation and Its Social Context," in "To See Ourselves as Others See Us": Christians, Jews, "Others" in Late Antiquity, eds. Jacob Neusner and Ernest S. Frerichs, Scholars Press Studies in the Humanities (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1985), 194.

statements of the anti-Jewish bigots, who supposedly fought to abolish these Jewish organizations.⁸⁰

Individual Jews did gain citizenship such as Julia Severa who built a synagogue according to inscriptions found in Phrygia. She was a high priestess who was a Roman citizen and may have been related to the Herods. Jews who gained citizenship in the cities where they lived, according to A. Collins, "would more likely count as insiders than those who were awarded Roman citizenship without local citizenship."⁸¹

Despite their limited political rights, the Jewish community was subject to mob violence. Early in the Jewish revolt in 66-73 C.E., according to Smallwood, "smouldering racial tension between Jews and Greeks in many Syrian cities flared up into mutually murderous attacks; immediately after the war attempts were made in Antioch and Alexandria to exploit Jewish disgrace."⁸²

Tensions in Antioch came to a climax as a result of a Jewish apostate named Antiochus in 67 C.E. According to Josephus, he was

greatly respected on account of his father, who was the governor of the Jews at Antioch, came upon the theatre at a time when the people of Antioch were assembled together, and became in [sic] informer against his father; and accused both him

⁸⁰ Feldman, 92.

⁸¹ Adela Collins, 196.

⁸² Smallwood, 357.

and others, that they had resolved to burn the whole city in one night;; he also delivered up to them some Jews that were foreigners, as partners in their resolutions.⁸³

This same accusation of arson was directed against the Christians in Rome less than three years earlier. Smallwood "suggests that the Christians were the section of the Jewish community in Antioch against which Antiochus' initial attack was directed."⁸⁴

According to Josephus' account, these accused Jews were immediately burned to death and then the people of Antioch violently punished the multitude of Jews. Antiochus then demonstrated

his hatred of Jewish customs, by sacrificing after the manner of the Greeks: he persuaded the rest also to compel them to do the same, because they would by that means discover who they were that had plotted against them, since they would not do so; and when the people of Antioch tried the experiment, some few complied; but those that would not do so were slain.⁸⁵

Antiochus also used Roman soldiers to prevent the Jews from observing the Sabbath and this practice spread to other Syrian cities. Smallwood views this apparent loss of religious liberty as lasting only a short time; as it was probably a sign of Roman preoccupation with putting down the Jewish War "that a Jewish privilege guaranteed by Roman law

⁸³ Josephus, The Wars of the Jews, 7.3.47, 753.

⁸⁴ Smallwood, 362.

⁸⁵ Josephus, The Wars of the Jews, 7.3.50-51, 753.

could be abrogated with impunity...."⁸⁶

A serious fire broke out in Antioch in the winter of 70-71 C.E. which, according to Josephus, burned down the marketplace, the public archives, and the royal palaces. Naturally, Antiochus accused the Jews of arson and persuaded the people of Antioch to believe him "even though they had not borne an ill will at the Jews before...."⁸⁷

It was only with considerable difficulty that Cneius Collegas, the legate, was able to restrain these attacks. According to Josephus, when Collegas had investigated the matter,

he found out the truth, and that not one of those Jews that were accused by Antiochus had any hand in it; but that all was done by some vile persons greatly in debt, who supposed, that if they could once set fire to the marketplace, and burn the public records, they should have no further demands made upon them. So the Jews were under great disorder and terror, in the uncertain expectations of what would be the upshot of those accusations against them.⁸⁸

Tension continued between the two groups for in 71 C.E. when Titus visited Antioch after he sacked Jerusalem. In the wake of this Jewish disaster, the people of Antioch greeted Titus by petitioning him to expel the Jews from the city. According to Josephus' account:

they pressed him with much earnestness and continually begged of him that he would eject the

⁸⁶ Smallwood, 362.

⁸⁷ Josephus, The Wars of the Jews, 7.3.56, 753.

⁸⁸ Josephus, The Wars of the Jews, 7.3.60-62, 753-4.

Jews out of their city, he gave them this very pertinent answer--"How can this be done, since that country of theirs, whither the Jews must be obliged then to retire, is destroyed, and no place will receive them besides?" Whereupon the people of Antioch, when they had failed of success in this their first request, made him a second; for they desired that he would order those tables of brass to be removed on which the Jews' privileges were engraven. However, Titus would not grant that either, but permitted the Jews of Antioch to continue to enjoy the very same privileges in that city which they had before....⁸⁹

This second request of the people to Titus to remove the bronze tablets upon which the political rights of the Jews were inscribed was a more indirect way to remove the Jews from Antioch. For this action would have degraded the status of the Jews from "metics to aliens without the right of residence, who could be summarily ejected."⁹⁰ By rejecting both requests, Titus displayed, according to Smallwood, "the lack of vindictiveness which was typical for Rome after 70. The Diaspora was not to suffer for the sins of Palestine."⁹¹ The Roman government proved to be the constant benefactor of the Jewish community in Antioch, for it refused to rescind the religious rights of the Jews.

Rome

The first mention of Roman Jews was by Valerius Maximus, according to Leon. In his section on superstitions, the praetor Gnaeus Cornelius Nispanus not

⁸⁹ Josephus, The Wars of the Jews, 7.5.2.108-111, 756.

⁹⁰ Smallwood, 364.

⁹¹ Smallwood, 364.

only expelled the Chaldeans and astrologers from Rome, but "he also compelled the Jews, who attempted to contaminate the morals of the Romans with the worship of Jupiter Sabazius, to go back to their own homes."⁹² Leon interprets this deity as a "Phryian god, whose rites had some connection with those of the Greek Bacchus and whose worship became popular in the eastern part of the Roman Empire."⁹³

This demonstrated that from the very beginning, the Romans had misconceptions about the Jewish community. In this incident, according to Wolfgang Wiefel, they

mistook them for followers of the hellenistic-oriental Sabazio cult for one of two good reasons: they misunderstood the Jewish word for God, Sabaoth, the Greek form of Zebaoth, and they might have made the same mistake with the word sabbath, the most conspicuous custom of Judaism."⁹⁴

This Jewish expulsion was not a result of anti-Semitic sentiment, rather it was a case of an anti-foreign bias by the Roman upper-class against foreign influence since Chaldeans and Asiatic astrologers were also expelled. Stern suggests that these Jewish evangelists were temporary immigrants, possibly merchants or envoys and not permanent residents.

⁹² Leon, 3.

⁹³ Leon, 3.

⁹⁴ Wolfgang Wiefel, "The Jewish Community in Ancient Rome and the Origins of Roman Christianity," in The Romans Debate, rev. ed., ed. Karl P. Donfried (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1991), 86.

The expulsion of the Jewish proselytizers fits in with a long series of attempts on the part of the Roman authorities to prevent the influx and spread of foreign ideas and religions which were likely to undermine traditional Roman values.⁹⁵

These also included Greek rhetoricians and Egyptian cults.

Roman authors at the end of the first-century typify the attitudes towards Jews during the time of Nero. Wiefel summarizes these attitudes as follows:

They are characterized by the disdain with which one often looks at things foreign and by a grotesque ignorance towards everything Jewish: origins, history, and lifestyle. Satirists ridicule obtrusive Jewish beggars and Jewish women who spare no pains to make some money through fortune-telling. Further, they portray Jews as a people of merchants and express anger against Jewish poets and singers. The sabbath, as the most conspicuous sign of Jewish life, has always evoked derision and scorn; it is considered a sign of laziness or of superstition.⁹⁶

Circumcision, Jewish proselytism, and their abstention from pork were other objects of Roman derision. An example of expressing this Jewish disdain was Tacitus:

Moses introduced new religious practices, quite opposed to those of all other religions. The Jews regard as profane all that we hold sacred; on the other hand, they permit all that we abhor....They abstain from pork, in recollection of a plague, for the scab to which this animal is subject once afflicted them....They adopted circumcision to distinguish themselves from other peoples by this difference. Those who are converted to their ways follow the same practice, and the earliest lesson

⁹⁵ Stern, 161.

⁹⁶ For the primary sources, see the footnotes in Wiefel, 98, n. 125-32.

they receive is to despise the gods, to disown their country, and to regard their parents, children, and brothers as of little account.⁹⁷

Cicero was another example of prejudice against the Jews. In his defense of Flaccus, Cicero accused the opposition that its alliance with the Jews subverted the interests of the state. He accused the Jews that the "practice of their sacred rites was at variance with the glory of our empire, the dignity of our name, the customs of our ancestors."⁹⁸

Despite the Roman government tolerant policy towards the Jewish religion, this did not spare the Jews in Rome from experiencing expulsions, misconceptions, and ridicule.

Asia Minor

It is unclear whether the Jews were eligible for citizenship within the autonomous Greek cities in Asia Minor. However as military colonists or as resident aliens in a Hellenistic city in Asia Minor, the Jews could organize themselves into a politeuma in which they were governed by their own laws. According to A. Collins:

Members of such an association would not technically have citizenship in the city as such, but they would have significant status and autonomy, at the same time constituting a recognized part of the city. Such an arrangement was feasible in these new cities since there were no well established municipal institutions, local aristocracy or traditional worship. Since all

⁹⁷ Tacitus, The Histories 5.4-5, vol. 2, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1962), 179, 183.

⁹⁸ Cicero, Pro Flacco, 28.69.

aristocracy or traditional worship. Since all were newcomers, it was easier for the Jews to be placed on any equal footing with the Greeks and Greco-Asiatic.⁹⁹

Yet the rights of the Jews caused tension with the Greek authorities of various cities in Ionia. In 14 B.C.E., Josephus recorded that many Jews appealed to Agrippa to settle a dispute over the infringement of their religious liberty.

[T]hey were not permitted to use their own laws, but were compelled to prosecute their lawsuits, by the ill usage of the judges, upon their holy days, and were deprived of the money they used to lay up at Jerusalem, and were forced into the army, and upon such other offices as obliged them to spend their sacred money; from which burdens they always used to be freed by the Romans, who had still permitted them to live according to their own laws.¹⁰⁰

The religious freedom of the Jews was infringed upon by these new civic and military demands by the Greeks. The Greeks, according to Josephus, did not deny these accusations, but replied that "while the Jews inhabited in their country, they were entirely unjust to them [in not joining in their worship]...."¹⁰¹

With the exception of not worshiping the Ionian gods, the Greeks confessed that the Jews did nothing to grieve them. However the Greeks argued that as resident aliens, the Jews were not entitled to citizenship unless they were

⁹⁹ Adela Collins, 193.

¹⁰⁰ Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews, 16.2.27-28.

¹⁰¹ Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews, 16.2.59.

willing to take on public responsibilities according to Smallwood.

The Greeks, however, not unreasonably, felt that any such advance should be balanced by an increase in civic responsibilities, resisted the Jews' claim to have the best of both worlds, full citizen rights together with exemption from such civic duties as conflicted with their religion and gave vent to their annoyance at Jewish aspirations by attacks on their religious privileges.¹⁰²

In his judgment, Agrippa affirmed the existing rights of the Jews "that what privileges they had already been given them might not be abrogated, he confirmed this to them, that they might continue in the observation of their own customs, without anyone offering them the least injury...."¹⁰³ However, Josephus does not record Agrippa's decision about Jewish citizenship. Thus the political and religious status of Jews in Asia Minor was a continuing source of controversy despite Rome's tolerant policy.

Jewish Christian Community in the Diaspora

Parallels can be drawn between diaspora Jews and Jewish Christians who lived outside Judea because both groups had experienced the social struggles of community, identity, and marginality. In the beginning, Jews who believed in Jesus as the Messiah were considered as a Jewish sect, albeit a radical one. Nevertheless, the broad spectrum of Judaism in the diaspora allowed for such a Messianic sect amidst its

¹⁰² Smallwood, 141.

¹⁰³ Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews, 16.2.60.

diversity in the first century.

After the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. and the formation of Rabbinic Judaism, Jewish Christians were increasingly ostracized in the synagogue and increasingly outside the boundaries of Judaism which was redefining itself more rigorously. However, Christianity's split from Judaism was not finalized when the Temple was destroyed in 70 C.E. According to James Dunn, "the period between the two Jewish revolts (66-70 and 132-135) was decisive for the parting of the ways."¹⁰⁴ During this time, new Jewish-Christian self-identity and community developed as a result their marginalization from both rabbinic Judaism and the mainstream Gentile church.

Jewish Christianity in the diaspora was not monolithic; diversity existed which was based upon the degree of continuity or discontinuity with their Jewish heritage. Some Jewish Christians demanded full observance of the Torah including circumcision and caused Paul problems among his Gentile converts in Galatia and Philippi. Paul described them in Gal. 2:4 as "false brothers (who) had infiltrated our ranks to spy on the freedom we have in Christ Jesus and to make us slaves."

According to Raymond Brown, other Jewish Christians "did not insist on circumcision but did require converted Gentiles to keep some Jewish observances. One may speak of

¹⁰⁴ Dunn, 238.

this as a moderately conservative Jewish/Gentile Christianity."¹⁰⁵ James and Peter can be seen as representative leaders of this group which would insist on keeping the kosher food laws (cf. Acts 15:20). In Gal. 2:12, "certain men came from James" caused problems in Antioch in pressuring Peter and Barnabas to withdraw from eating with Gentiles who did not observe the food laws. As a result, Paul rebuked Peter in forcing "Gentiles to follow Jewish customs." (Gal. 2:14) Paul also argued against these food laws in 1 Cor. 8. Yet a letter from the Jerusalem Council to Gentile believers in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia advocated James' position and required them to observe these kosher laws (Acts 15:23-29). For Brown, this was a "mediating view, inclined to see a value in openness (no demand of circumcision) but preserving some of the wealth of the Jewish Law as part of the Christian heritage."¹⁰⁶

A third group of Jewish Christians required neither circumcision nor kosher food laws; this was Paul's position. Although no longer under the Law (Gal. 3:24-25), Paul expected Christians to abide by Jewish (and Greek) morality. According to Acts' reconstruction, Paul still observed the Jewish feasts and went to the Temple in Jerusalem. Yet his opponents in Acts 21:20-21 charged him with telling Jews "not to circumcise their children or live according to our

¹⁰⁵ Brown and Meier, 3.

¹⁰⁶ Brown and Meier, 4.

customs."

A fourth group of Jewish Christians according to Brown, went beyond Paul and "had broken with Judaism in a radical way and so, in a sense, had become a new religion."¹⁰⁷ In Acts 7:48, Stephen claimed that God did not dwell in the Temple. In John's Gospel, Jewish feasts are viewed as alien while in Hebrews, Jesus replaced the priesthood and sacrifices. Thus there was a total break with Judaism resulting in a total discontinuity with its Jewish heritage.

Antioch

Antioch, a meeting place for eastern and western cultures, proved to be fertile ground for the spread of Christianity. According to Glanville Downey, the large Jewish community "seems to have felt no great hostility toward the Gentiles, and, in turn, appears not to have been looked upon with any marked degree of disfavor by the Gentiles as a whole, at this time."¹⁰⁸

The Antiochene church was one of the earliest, beginning around the late 30s by Christians from Cyprus and Cyrene who came to Antioch because of the persecution that followed Stephen's martyrdom. This included Nicolaus of Antioch, a proselyte chosen as a deacon (Acts 6:5) who may have returned to his native city. These Christian refugees began to preach to the Gentiles with great success (Acts

¹⁰⁷ Brown and Meier, 8.

¹⁰⁸ Downey, 272.

11:19-21) due in part to the cosmopolitan nature of Antioch where "traditional barriers of race, nationality, and formal religion could easily be crossed."¹⁰⁹ As a result, there was no evidence of fanatical Jewish resistance to their preaching. Since it was the capital of Syria, Antioch was governed by a legate so public order would have prevented mob violence.

In Acts 11:22f., the church at Jerusalem sent Barnabas to Antioch to check on their progress. Barnabas then went to Tarsus to find Paul and brought him to Antioch where he remained for a year. It was here, probably in the early 40s, that the disciples were first called Christians (11:26). It was significant that this happened in Antioch because, according to Downey:

The word apparently was adopted by the Roman authorities in the city when they found that it was necessary to have some official description of the group or sect, which by now, in Antioch, was becoming distinct from Judaism. Such a designation would be necessary in a place such as Antioch where there were many cults of all kinds.¹¹⁰

It is not surprising that it was in cosmopolitan Antioch where Peter and Paul had their confrontation over the issue of eating with Gentiles (Gal. 2:11-14). However, Meeks and Wilken comment that "neither in Acts nor in Paul do we learn of any locally bred division between Jewish and

¹⁰⁹ Downey, 274.

¹¹⁰ Downey, 275-76.

gentile Christians; division occurs only at the instigation of certain people from Jerusalem."¹¹¹ Because of this external disturbance, Paul had to leave Antioch without Barnabas for his mission to Asia Minor because Peter was the apparent winner. Paul returned to Antioch according to Acts 18:22-23 but never mentioned the city again in his letters.

Peter, on the other hand, may have remained dominant in Antioch which for John Meier, "may be the historical basis of the latter, anachronistic tradition that Peter was the first bishop of Antioch."¹¹² Peter plays a central role for Matthew (cf. 16:17-19), because it was

the Antiochene tradition of Peter as the bridge-figure, the moderate center, to be the norm for the whole church, as opposed to those local churches, dissident groups, or sects which would appeal to a one-sided interpretation of the Pauline or Jamesian tradition as normative for the whole church.¹¹³

Matthew showed that his Christian community was still loyal to the Torah. According to Meier, this can

explain the Jewish tone of the gospel, with its echoes of Semitic usage, its interest in Jewish customs and rites, its Jewish mode of argumentation, its great concern over the Mosaic Law, its heavy emphasis on the fulfillment of prophecy, and its disputes with Pharisaic Judaism.¹¹⁴

Jesus restricted his public mission to Israel with certain

¹¹¹ Meeks and Wilken, 18.

¹¹² Brown and Meier, 24.

¹¹³ Brown and Meier, 67.

¹¹⁴ Brown and Meier, 23.

exceptions such as his healing of the centurion's servant (8:5-13) and the Canaanite woman's daughter (15:21-28). Jesus came, not to abolish the law or the prophets, but to fulfill them. Even the smallest parts of the law will be accomplished (Matt. 5:17) albeit by Jesus' interpretation of the Torah. This included his critical view of the purity laws in Matt. 15:1-20.

According to Meier, the influence of Jewish Christians in the Antiochene church waned with the martyrdom of James and the exile of the Jerusalem church because "the decisive umbilical cord that had tied the Antiochene church to its Jewish identity and its Jewish past was severed."¹¹⁵ Jews became a minority in the church with the success of the circumcision-free mission to the Gentiles that began at Antioch.

However, for Meier, both "Matthew and Ignatius depict one Christian community made up of Jews and Gentiles, defined over against the Jewish synagogue and various dissident Christians (e.g., false prophets in Matthew, docetists and Judaizers in Ignatius)."¹¹⁶

Rome

As in Antioch, Christianity in Rome did not begin with Paul's ministry. At Pentecost, there were "visitors (epidemountes) from Rome, both Jews and proselytes" (Acts

¹¹⁵ Brown and Meier, 46.

¹¹⁶ Brown and Meier, 40.

2:10). Presumably, these pilgrims who witnessed Pentecost may have started the Roman church when they returned.

According to Joseph Fitzmyer's reconstruction:

Most likely the Christian community in Rome began not under any direct evangelization of the area, as it did in parts of the eastern Mediterranean, but through the presence of Jewish Christians and Gentiles associated with them who came to live there went about ordinary tasks and secular duties. Slaves brought to Rome, merchants who came from other parts of the empire, and other individuals probably carried the Christian gospel there.¹¹⁷

The earliest record of the Christian community was Paul's letter to the Romans. The church predated his letter because he had desired to visit the Roman church for many years (Rom. 15:23). Eusebius has Peter arriving in Rome during the reign of Claudius (Hist. Eccl. 14.6) to preach against Simon Magus. Although Peter and Paul did not bring Christianity to Rome, tradition has their martyrdom taking place here. The Roman church even possessed their bodily remains according to Ignatius and Irenaeus.

The Jewish context of the early Roman church was attested by Ambrosiaster in his fourth century commentary on Romans:

It is established that there were Jews living in Rome in the times of the apostles, and that those Jews who had believed [in Christ] passed on to the

¹¹⁷ Joseph A. Fitzmyer, Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary, Anchor Bible, vol. 33 (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 29.

Romans the tradition that they ought to profess Christ but keep the law (ut Christum profitentes, legem servarent).¹¹⁸

There are some tantalizing, but incomplete clues that this Jewish-Christian community may have disrupted the Roman Jewish community. Suetonius recorded Claudius banishing the Jews: "Since they constantly made disturbances at the instigation of Chrestus, he expelled them from Rome."¹¹⁹ Acts 18:2 states that "Claudius had issued an edict that all Jews should leave Rome" which was why Aquila and Priscilla left for Corinth. However, in his third-century history of Rome, Cassius Dio stated that Claudius could not expel the Jews because they were too numerous.¹²⁰ Tacitus does not mention this expulsion while Josephus recorded Claudius' favorable edict restoring Jewish rights and privileges in Alexandria.¹²¹ In addition, the meaning of "Chrestus"

¹¹⁸ Ambrosiaster, Commentaria in epistolam ad Romans, in A. J. M. Wedderburn, The Reasons for Romans, ed. John Riches (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988), 51.

¹¹⁹ Suetonius, Claudius 25.4 in Suetonius, vol. 2, trans. J. C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1965), 53.

¹²⁰ "As for the Jews, who had again increased so greatly that by reason of their multitude it would have been hard without raising a tumult to bar them from the city, he did not drive them out, but ordered them, while continuing their traditional mode of life, not to hold meetings" (60.6.6). See Cassius Dio, Dio's Roman History, vol. 7, trans. Earnest Cary, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1960), 383.

¹²¹ See Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews, 19.5.285: "I will, therefore, that the nation of the Jews be not deprived of their rights and privileges, on account of the madness of Caius; but that those rights and privileges, which they

could be another form of "Christus" or it could refer to a certain Jew by that name. Thus, if this expulsion took place, it is uncertain if all Jews, Jewish-Christian, or only those who rebelled were expelled.

If Jewish Christians were expelled, they could have returned after Claudius' death in 54 C.E. According to Wolfgang Wiefel's reconstruction, they found a different church which was now largely Gentile in composition and organized into separate house churches.¹²² Although once the majority, Jewish Christians now found themselves to be a minority. Despite this, the Roman church was strongly influenced by the synagogue according to Raymond Brown. "The continuing strong influence of Jewish Christianity in Rome is traceable well into the second century."¹²³ Thus the Roman church may have been in continuous contact with the church at Jerusalem that was associated with Peter and James. For Fitzmyer, Roman Christians would have "retained some Jewish observances and remained faithful to the Jewish legal and cultic heritage without insisting on circumcision

formerly enjoyed, be preserved to them, and that they may continue in their own customs."

¹²² See Willi Marxsen, Introduction to the New Testament: An Approach to Its Problems, trans. G. Buswell (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970), 99-100.

¹²³ Raymond E. Brown, "Further Reflections on the Origins of the Church of Rome," in The Conversation Continues: Studies in Paul and John in Honor of J. Louis Martyn, eds. Robert T. Fortna and Beverly R. Gaventa (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1990), 100.

for Gentile converts."¹²⁴ Raymond Brown concluded that:

Whether or not the majority of the Christians at that moment were Gentile is not decisive theologically, for I contended that the tone of Romans, much more moderate than that of Galatians, suggests that Paul recognized most of the Christians at Rome to be more attached to Jewish law and customs than his own converts.¹²⁵

It was to this mixed congregation at Rome that Paul addressed his letter. Paul had to convince the Roman church of his orthodoxy because of the slander over his emphasis that Gentiles are free of the Torah. He needed the support of the Roman church when he returned to Jerusalem to present the collection of money for the poor from the churches at Macedonia and Achaia (Acts 15:26,31). Roman approval of Paul's position would strengthen his case before the Jerusalem church.

Paul claims that rather than nullifying the law by faith, "we uphold the law" (Rom. 3:31 NRSV). The "law is holy and the commandment is holy and just and good" (7:12). Has "God rejected his people? By no means!" (11:1) because "all Israel will be saved" (11:26). Gentile Christians have been "grafted, contrary to nature, into a cultivated olive tree," that is Israel (11:24). Jews have the advantage of being circumcised and being "entrusted with the oracles of God" (3:1-2). To the Israelites belong "adoption, the glory, the covenants, the giving of the law, the worship,

¹²⁴ Fitzmyer, 33.

¹²⁵ Raymond Brown, "Further Reflections," 99.

promises; to them belong the patriarchs, and from them, according to the flesh, comes the Messiah (9:4-5). "Christ has become a servant of the circumcised....in order that he might confirm the promises given to the patriarchs and in order that the Gentiles might glorify God for his mercy" (15:8).

These verses show that, unlike in Galatians, Paul was diplomatic in showing the Roman church that "he has no contempt for the law, but rather sees positive values in the Judaism of his ancestors, so long as he can make clear the primacy of what God has done in Christ."¹²⁶ Thus Paul was careful in addressing a Roman church in whom the majority may not have been sympathetic towards his Torah-free gospel.

Asia Minor

The Jewish diaspora penetrated all the regions of Asia Minor which provided a network through which the Christian mission could expand. Jewish pilgrims from Cappadocia and Pontus returning from Pentecost in Acts 2 may have been the first Christian witnesses in Asia Minor. By the sixth decade, John Elliott estimated that there may have been about "5,000 Christians in a total population of about four million prior to 67 C.E."¹²⁷ Harnack claimed that "Asia Minor, in the fourth century, was the first purely Christian country, apart from some outlying districts and one or two

¹²⁶ Raymond Brown, 108.

¹²⁷ Elliott, 45.

prominent sanctuaries which managed to survive."¹²⁸

Yet early Christianity faced a vibrant Judaism which was firmly entrenched in Asia Minor such as Sardis and possibly Aphrodisias. Van der Horst stated that it "was in the heart of Asia Minor more than anywhere else that the power and influence of Judaism made itself felt, both with Christians and with pagans."¹²⁹

This was the situation that faced I Peter's audience whose composition is not known. According to Edward Selwyn: "In the patristic age Origen, Eusebius, and the Greek Fathers generally maintained that they had been Jews, while Augustine, Jerome, and other Latin writers held the opposite view."¹³⁰ Yet Gentile Christians probably became the majority as indicated by the letter's focus on their problems with their former pagan background. However, A. Collins suggests another alternative.

[I]t is quite credible that in western Anatolia there were Christians who were virtually indistinguishable from Jews. These would have been as observant (or non-observant) as their Jewish neighbors and have a Christology which did not offend them. They would have had their own gatherings, but would have participated in those of the local synagogue or synagogues as well. Such Christians would also have shared in the

¹²⁸ Adolf von Harnack, The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries, vol. 2, trans. and ed. James Moffatt, Theological Translation Library, vol. 20 (London: Williams and Norgate, 1908), 184.

¹²⁹ van der Horst, 116.

¹³⁰ Edward Gordon Selwyn, The First Epistle of St. Peter (London: Macmillan, 1946), 42

legal status of the local Jews. They would have been outsiders or insiders to the same degree.¹³¹

1 Peter's audience in Asia Minor appreciated its Jewish heritage but without requiring circumcision or Sabbath observance. Jewish cultic language was used to describe them: they were "ransomed....with the precious blood of Christ" (1:18-19) and were "like living stones....built into a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices to God through Jesus Christ" (2:5). In addition, 1 Peter's community is given titles exclusively applied to Israel: "a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people" (2:9).

If 1 Peter was written after the fall of Jerusalem, Elliott's reconstruction of 1 Peter's community was that it eventually

developed a social distinction or separation from Jewish communal life and yet the retention and reinterpretation of Jewish tradition, exemplary figures, institutions and events; the ethnic coalescence of both former Jews and Gentiles in the new community of faith.¹³²

Because 1 Peter was addressed to Jewish and Gentile resident aliens, the attractiveness of the Christian movement was its community life, according to Elliott. It offered

a place of belonging, fraternal assistance, and participation in a community of equals-benefits which were denied these strangers in the larger

¹³¹ Adela Collins, 196-97.

¹³² Elliott, 85.

society indifferent to their needs and suspicious of their presence. The vehemence, however, with which the local communities had reacted to the Christian sect had made increased suffering rather than security the lot of these believers.¹³³

It was the promise of salvation that through Jesus that gave 1 Peter's community a unique identity and enabled them to present themselves as an attractive alternative to other religious groups.

This distinctiveness can be seen in the emphasis of 1 Peter on the community's election. Because they "have been chosen and destined by God" (1:2), they "have been born anew" through hearing the word of God (1:23). Unlike pagans and unbelieving Jews, they are God's elect who are heirs to divine grace. This emphasis upon election is the clearest expression of the new divine status of the "paroikos." For Elliott, this was because

the process of election implies preference, elevation and superiority. From a sociological point of view, the characterization of the readers as "elect visiting strangers of (in) the diaspora" (1:1) is a strategic way of both legitimizing their distinction from the Jews and pagans while simultaneously attributing to these lowly "paroikoi" special elite status in the economy of God.¹³⁴

This was attractive to the lowly members of the "paroikoi" who could obtain new status, denied to them by society, by belonging to an egalitarian community that claimed to be chosen by God. In turn, election would

¹³³ Elliott, 101.

¹³⁴ Elliott, 121.

claimed to be chosen by God. In turn, election would "reinforce the self-esteem of the group when challenged by outsiders....[and] can serve as a key factor in an ideology of status whose design is to legitimate new group formation and motivate group maintenance (and recruitment)." ¹³⁵

While remaining resident aliens in society, they have honor and prestige within the Christian community. Through faith in Christ, status "is gained not through blood ties nor by meeting social prerequisites; it is available to all classes and races of mankind as a divine gift." ¹³⁶

Thus Jewish Christian community in Antioch, Rome, and Asia Minor began as a Jewish sect within the flexible boundaries of Judaism and later became a minority within a predominantly Gentile church. The diversity of Jewish Christians was based upon their degree of observing or not observing the Torah, circumcision, and kosher food laws. When the Christian community became predominantly Gentile, Jewish traditions were less emphasized. Identity issues became more important as Jewish Christians were caught in the middle between the emerging rabbinical movement and mainstream Christianity.

Jewish Christian Identity

With the rise of the Jamnia movement, there was pressure on Jewish Christians to make a choice of either

¹³⁵ Elliott, 122.

¹³⁶ Elliott, 127.

leaving the synagogue or the church. According to John Meier: "The fact that both entities, church and synagogue, were in process of self-definition, consolidation, and codification of traditions is enough to explain the growing tensions, the persecution, and finally the separation."¹³⁷ Thus Jamnia and Matthew had very different interpretations concerning the Torah and the will of God such as in the Sermon on the Mount.

Matthew speaks about the disciples being flogged in "their synagogues" (10:17). As Mark's version omits the word "their", Douglas Hare notes that the "Matthean version suggests that the Jewish disciples no longer 'belong' in the synagogue; it is an alien institution belonging to an alien people."¹³⁸ This is why Matthew has "their synagogues" in 4:23, 9:35, 10:17, 12:9, and 13:54. This rupture with the synagogue may have occurred before or during the time Matthew wrote his gospel so that Jewish Christians lost their last organizational tie to Judaism. According to Wayne Meeks, the "Judaism from which Matthew has separated looks much more like that taking shape in the academy of Yavneh around the same time than does the Judaism from which

¹³⁷ Brown and Meier, 48.

¹³⁸ Douglas R. A. Hare, The Theme of Jewish Persecution of Christians in the Gospel According to St Matthew, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph, 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1967), 104.

the Johannine Christians were expelled."¹³⁹ Jewish Christians faced an uncertain future as an "embattled minority vis a vis two majorities--non-Christian Judaism and gentile Christianity."¹⁴⁰

Matthew is the severest critic of the Pharisees (Matt. 23) and this may be in reaction to the consolidation of Judaism after 70 C.E. According to Anthony Saldarini: "Sociologically the Matthean community is a fragile minority still identified with the Jewish community by others and still thinking of itself as Jews."¹⁴¹ Matthew's community did not desire a separate identity from the Jewish community. "Matthew does not even use the terms new or true Israel. Rather, members of the Jewish community who reject Jesus, especially the leaders, are excoriated, in the prophetic mode, as unfaithful members of Israel, but still as members."¹⁴²

Yet its rupture from the synagogue prepares the way for

¹³⁹ Wayne A. Meeks, "Breaking Away: Three New Testament Pictures of Christianity's Separation from the Jewish Communities," in "To See Ourselves As Others See Us," eds. Jacob Neusner and Ernest S. Frerichs, *Scholars Press Studies in the Humanities* (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1985), 113.

¹⁴⁰ Stephen G. Wilson, "Jewish-Christian Relations, 70-170 C.E.," in The Anchor Bible Dictionary, vol 3, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 836.

¹⁴¹ Anthony J. Saldarini, "The Gospel of Matthew and Jewish-Christian Conflict," in Social History of the Matthean Community: Cross-Disciplinary Approaches, ed. David L. Balch (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 38.

¹⁴² Saldarini, 42.

the church to take Israel's place in the kingdom. After Jesus' healing of the centurion's servant, Matthew adds "many will come from the east and west, and will eat with places at the feast with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven, while the heirs of the kingdom will be thrown into the outer darkness" (8:11-12). Israel's rejection is evident from Matthew's addition to Mark's parable of the tenants in the vineyard: "the kingdom of God will be taken away from you and given to a people that produces the fruits of the kingdom" (21:43).

Yet with the destruction of the Temple, the loss of the Jerusalem mother church, and their expulsion from the local synagogue, Jewish Christians faced an identity crisis.

According to John Meier:

It was to address the double crisis of church-identity and moral authority in the church that Matthew welded together the various traditions of Antiochene Christianity to form his gospel. His was a systematic attempt to "retrieve the tradition," to formulate a new Christian synthesis out of traditional materials, a synthesis which would provided his church with an adequate explanation of its origin and nature, as it tried to bridge the gap between a predominantly Jewish past and an increasingly Gentile future.¹⁴³

When the Jesus sect questioned symbols of Jewishness such as the Temple, Jerusalem, the food laws, circumcision, and the Sabbath, this caused radical discontinuity with its Jewish heritage. Hare concluded that: "Conflict arose because of Christian disrespect for ethnic solidarity, the

¹⁴³ Brown and Meier, 59.

fundamental principle of Jewish life from the Exile to the present."¹⁴⁴ In addition:

Ethnic solidarity was further challenged by Christians in their rejection of Jewish nationalism....their central allegiance was not to the nation and its political destiny but to Jesus, their risen Lord, who in his own person represented the real Israel.¹⁴⁵

Thus Gentile converts were not required to undergo any naturalization such as circumcision which was the traditional ethnic boundary. The Eucharist was open to all believers in Jesus no matter what their relationship was to the Torah. To the Jewish leaders, according to Hare, "reports of Christian missionary success in the Diaspora might easily arouse uneasiness and hostility."¹⁴⁶

Yet for Dunn, by the second century, "not only certain Christian sects can be described as 'Jewish-Christian,' but Christianity as a whole can still properly be described as 'Jewish Christianity' in a justifiable sense."¹⁴⁷ However, as tensions continued to mount, it was inevitable that there would be a final parting of the ways. As a result, Jewish Christians found themselves marginalized in both rabbinic Judaism and Gentile Christianity.

¹⁴⁴ Hare, 3.

¹⁴⁵ Hare, 7.

¹⁴⁶ Hare, 12.

¹⁴⁷ Dunn, 234.

Jewish Christian Marginality

Jewish persecution of Christians was predicted by Jesus in his warning that his disciples "will be beaten in synagogues" (Mark 13:9). By the time of the Gospel of John, the Jews "had already agreed that anyone who confessed Jesus to be the Messiah would be put out of the synagogue" (9:22, cf. 16:2) including Pharisees (12:42). Acts 8:3 records that in Jerusalem, "Saul was ravaging the church by entering house after house; dragging off both men and women, he committed them to prison."

However, in the Diaspora synagogues, it is unclear whether they had the legal means and the facilities for imprisoning Christians. For Hare, the most common form of persecution was "the informal exclusion of Christians by the pressure of public disapproval and social ostracism."¹⁴⁸ This happened to Paul at Corinth in Acts 18:5-7,13. "Jewish hostility to Christianity was more intense in the Diaspora than in Palestine because of the Gentile problem."¹⁴⁹ Thus Christian missionaries in the Diaspora were targets of Jewish hostility because they eliminated the distinctive Jewish symbols of identity such as circumcision. Matt. 10:23 may refer to this in its warning to flee to another city because of persecution. According to Hare:

¹⁴⁸ Hare, 56.

¹⁴⁹ Hare, 112.

In the Diaspora, where Jews constituted a self-conscious minority living together in the Jewish quarter of a hellenistic city, controversial missionaries were probably driven not only from the synagogue but from the residential community as well.¹⁵⁰

Antioch

An early church father, Ignatius (c.35-c.107) was the second or third bishop of Antioch. In his Letter to the Magnesians, he expressed an antagonistic view towards the Jewish heritage of Christianity.

Do not be led astray by wrong views or by outmoded tales that count for nothing. For if we still go on observing Judaism, we admit we never received grace. (8:2)....It is monstrous to talk Jesus Christ and to live like a Jew. For Christianity did not believe in Judaism, but Judaism on Christianity. (10:3)¹⁵¹

By the time of Chrysostom (born in Antioch c.354), this negative attitude towards Judaism hardened into hatred. Chrysostom was ordained a priest by Antioch's bishop, Flavian, in 386 and was a popular preacher in Antioch until he was abducted in 397 to Constantinople to become its Patriarch.

Chrysostom's eight sermons, Against Judaizing Christians suggested that in Antioch, the

Jewish community must have been numerous, influential, and active. It was not satisfied with gathering in the Judaizing Christians; their rabbis and congregations both solicited and

¹⁵⁰ Hare, 128.

¹⁵¹ Cyril C. Richardson, trans., Early Christian Fathers, Library of Christian Classics, vol.1 (New York: Macmillan, 1970), 96-97.

supported this Judaizing custom....even after the triumph of the Church, neither Jewish nationalism nor proselytism had been quenched. Antioch remained an important center for Judaism and posed a real peril for the Christian congregation.¹⁵²

Chrysostom asked his congregation: "Are you a Christian? Why, then, this zeal for Jewish practices? Are you a Jew? Why then, are you making trouble for the Church?"¹⁵³ In response to this threat, Chrysostom, made the accusation that the Jews

live for their bellies, they gape for the things of this world, their condition is no better than that of pigs or goats because of their wanton ways and excessive gluttony. They know but one thing: to fill their bellies and be drunk, to get all cut and bruised, to be hurt and wounded while fighting for their favorite charioteers.¹⁵⁴

Chrysostom even had to attack circumcision because it was still being practiced by these Judaizing Christians.

But someone might say: "Is there so much harm in circumcision that it makes Christ's whole plan of redemption useless?" Yes, the harm of circumcision is as great as that....If you take it on yourself [*sic*] to be circumcised now, when the time is no longer right, it makes the gift of God useless.¹⁵⁵

A main attraction for Judaizing Christians was the celebration of Jewish feasts in the synagogue. Chrysostom's

¹⁵² Paul W. Harkins, "Introduction," in Saint John Chrysostom: Discourses Against the Judaizing Christians, trans. Paul W. Harkins, Fathers of the Church: A New Translation, vol. 68 (Washington D.C.: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1979), xliii.

¹⁵³ Chrysostom, Adv. Jud. Orat., 4.3.5, 78.

¹⁵⁴ Chrysostom, Adv. Jud. Orat., 1.4.1, 14

¹⁵⁵ Chrysostom, Adv. Jud. Orat., 2.1.6, 37.

response to this practice was the following:

What is this disease? The festivals of the pitiful and miserable Jews....the feasts of Trumpets, the feast of Tabernacles, the fasts. There are many in our ranks who say they think as we do. Yet some of them are going to watch the festivals and others will join the Jews in keeping their feasts and observing their fasts.¹⁵⁶

The synagogue at Antioch was also attractive to Judaizing Christians for other reasons. Chrysostom was told by a man that the reason why he dragged a woman to the synagogue to swear an oath there was because "many people had told him that oaths sworn there were more to be feared."¹⁵⁷ Another reason was the reputation of the rabbis for their curative powers in healing due to their therapeutic methods.

Suppose he uses the cures which the Jews effect as his excuse; suppose he says: "They promise to make me well, and so I go to them." Then you must reveal the tricks they use, their incantations, their amulets, their charms and spells. This is the only way in which they have a reputation for healing; they do not effect genuine cures. Heaven forbid they should! Let me go so far as to say that even if they really do cure you, it is better to die than to run to God's enemies and be cured that way. What use is it to have your body cured if you lose your soul? What profit is there that you find some relief from your pain in this world if you are going to be consigned to eternal fire?¹⁵⁸

Chrysostom, in no uncertain words, wanted no Christian to go to rabbis for treatment, no matter how serious their

¹⁵⁶ Chrysostom, Adv. Jud. Orat., 1.1.5, 3-4.

¹⁵⁷ Chrysostom, Adv. Jud. Orat., 1.3.5, 12

¹⁵⁸ Chrysostom, Adv. Jud. Orat., 8.5.6, 222-23.

illness.

A fourth reason was that some of these Judaizing Christians thought that the synagogue was a holy place because the law and the books of the prophets were kept there. Chrysostom admonished Judaizing Christians to "flee the gatherings and holy places of the Jews. Let no man venerate the synagogue because of the holy books; let him hate and avoid it because the Jews outrage and maltreat the holy ones."¹⁵⁹ What angered Chrysostom was that the Jews "have the prophets but do not believe them; they read the sacred writings but reject their witness--and this is a mark of men guilty of the greatest outrage."¹⁶⁰

This attraction for the synagogue included some from Chrysostom's congregation: "[T]hose who seem to belong to our ranks although they observe the Jewish rites and make every effort to defend them. Because they do this, as I see it, they deserve a stronger condemnation than any Jew."¹⁶¹

For Chrysostom, the synagogue was "not only a brothel and a theater; it also is a den of robbers and a lodging for wild beasts."¹⁶² Yet he had a pastoral concern for those Judaizing Christians who worshipped at the synagogue: "We have an eager and vigilant concern for our brothers who have

¹⁵⁹ Chrysostom, Adv. Jud. Orat., 1.3.8, 21.

¹⁶⁰ Chrysostom, Adv. Jud. Orat., 1.5.2, 19.

¹⁶¹ Chrysostom, Adv. Jud. Orat., 4.3.4, 77-78.

¹⁶² Chrysostom, Adv. Jud. Orat., 1.3.1, 10-11.

deserted over to the Jewish side. When the Jews find this out, it will be they, rather than we, who thrust out those of our number who frequent their synagogue."¹⁶³

Thus in this Antiochene context in the fourth century, Judaizing Christians (whether ethnic Jews or not), were caught in the middle of Chrysostom's bitter polemics against Jewish practices. In his view, the parting of the ways between Judaism and Christianity was final and absolute.

Rome

Suetonius' biography of Claudius stated that he expelled Jews from Rome who constantly caused disturbances because of Chrestus. This tantalizing phrase has been interpreted to mean either a Jewish agitator or a misspelling of the name Christus. Those expelled may refer to Jews or Jewish Christians. If it refers to Christians, then Claudius' edict against the Jews was the result of Jewish Christians who provoked disturbances within the Roman synagogues.

Whether these Jews were Christian or not, division within the Roman Jewish community was possible. There was no central Jewish authority to mediate disputes among the dozen known Roman synagogues which were autonomous. Thus it was possible for either Jews or Jewish Christians to penetrate individual synagogues and cause so much trouble. If the Jews who caused disturbances were Christians, then

¹⁶³ Chrysostom, Adv. Jud. Orat., 7.5.10, 204.

reconstructing early Roman Christianity that provoked the Jews is problematic.

Although Stephen was lynched and Paul was beaten by Jews, Jewish persecution of Christians does not seem to be normative until after 85 C.E. T. Robinson asks: "During the first three decades of the church, did not law-abiding Christian Jews manage, for the most part, to live peacefully with their non-Christian neighbours in the heart of conservative Judaism, Jerusalem itself?"¹⁶⁴ In Antioch, there were no anti-Christian riots by Jews even though the Antiochene church did not require Gentile converts to be circumcised. So how could a anti-Christian conflict break out in Rome "if the Christianity there was, at most, a liberal Judaism without the radicalism of a Stephen or a Paul?"¹⁶⁵

If, however, the original character of the Roman church had radical tendencies, then this may have provoked the Jews to riot. With the expulsion of Christians such as Aquilla and Priscilla (who aligned themselves with Paul), then the Roman church may have not have been so radical. According to Thomas Robinson's reconstruction, the church at Rome was "reorganized, by less radical Jewish Christians, who recognized the need to accommodate themselves fully to the non-Christian Jewish community if they were to remain in the

¹⁶⁴ Thomas Robinson, 79.

¹⁶⁵ Thomas Robinson, 80.

capital?"¹⁶⁶ Thus a visit by Paul would have required an introductory letter to a more moderate Roman church in order to deal with the tension caused by his radical form of Christianity.

According to this reconstruction, this expulsion along with other Jewish Christians meant the demise of the first Roman congregation. When they were permitted to return to Rome after Nero repealed Claudius' edict, Jewish Christians faced a new challenge. In their absence, Gentile Christians may have developed "semi-legal house churches [which] eliminated the Jewish element which previously had been rooted in the synagogue assembly."¹⁶⁷ This new organization of the church thus resulted in Jewish Christians becoming a minority in a congregation they originally founded.

In addition, Paul's gospel of the freedom from the Torah may have influenced these Gentile Christians in Rome as well as some of the Jewish Christian returnees. As the new majority, the Gentile Christians were the primary audience of Paul's letter. They were urged to welcome and live together with the Jewish Christians who had returned from their Roman exile. Because the Roman church "is surrounded by a society marked by its aversion and rejection

¹⁶⁶ Thomas Robinson, 81.

¹⁶⁷ Wiefel, 95.

of everything Jewish,"¹⁶⁸ Paul's positive view of Israel is to elevate the status of Jewish Christians in the eyes of Gentile Christians.

Whatever may have happened, the result, according to Raymond Brown, was that

Christians of Jewish origin were no longer welcome at many or all Roman synagogues, and the community meetings would have moved to the houses of the better-off Christians. Such a separation may explain why in 64 Nero could distinguish between Christian and Jews, even though both were "foreign superstitions."¹⁶⁹

This separate identity of Christianity made it possible for Nero to make Christians, not Jews, the scapegoats for Rome's great fire in 64 C.E. So Nero singled out Christians for torture by being torn to death by dogs, by being crucified, and by being burned to death as lamps in Nero's garden. According to Tacitus' account:

....Nero substituted as culprits, and punished with the utmost refinements of cruelty, a class of men, loathed for their vices, whom the crowd styled Christians. Christus, the founder of the name, had undergone the death penalty in the reign of Tiberius, by sentence of the procurator Pontius Pilate, and the pernicious superstition was checked for a moment, only to break out once more, not merely in Judaea, the home of the disease, but in the capital itself, where all things horrible or shameful in the world collect and find a vogue. First, then, the confessed members of the sect were arrested; next, on their disclosures, vast multitudes were convicted, not so much on the count of arson as for hatred of the human race.

¹⁶⁸ Wiefel, 100.

¹⁶⁹ Raymond Brown, "Further Reflections," 108.

....Hence, in spite of a guilt which had earned the most exemplary punishment, there arose a sentiment of pity, due to the impression that they were being sacrificed not for the welfare of the state but to the ferocity of a single man.¹⁷⁰

Despite Rome's policy of religious freedom for Jews, this tolerance was not extended to Christians. Jewish Christians were again caught in the middle between a predominantly Gentile church and a Judaism less tolerant of Christianity.

1 Peter

The marginality of 1 Peter's mixed community of Jewish and Gentile Christians was due to the fact that they were addressed as "paroikos" (1:1) which Elliott translated as "resident aliens." Generally, this word means "strangers, foreigners, aliens, people who are not at home, or who lack native roots, in the language, customs, culture, or political, social, and religious allegiances of the people among whom they dwell."¹⁷¹ While the social and legal status of a "paroikos" was higher than transient foreigners, they were barred from the privileges of full citizenship. According to Elliott, this in-between status resulted in "political and economic exploitation, continued disdain and suspicion by the citizenry, and competition and envy from those below...."¹⁷² Resident aliens, for Tcherikover, "were

¹⁷⁰ Tacitus, Annals, vol. 4, trans. John Jackson, Loeb Classical Library, (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1962), 15.44.

¹⁷¹ Elliott, 24.

¹⁷² Elliott, 26.

regarded as foreign-born natives, although they might have been born in the city and have grown up there."¹⁷³ This second-class status lead to suspicion and resentment by native citizens.

For both Jews and Gentiles who were "paroikoi" living in Asia Minor, their non-citizen status meant economic and political deprivations for, according to Elliott, they were

excluded from voting and land-holding privileges as well as from the chief civic offices and honors, they enjoyed only limited legal protection, were restricted in regard to intermarriage and the transfer of property, could be pressed into military service, were free to engage in cultic rights but were excluded from priestly offices, and yet shared full responsibility with the citizenry for all financial burdens such as a tribute, taxes, and production quotas.¹⁷⁴

The "paroikoi" comprised the working-class segment of the Roman Empire and in Asia Minor, the "paroikoi" were most involved in agriculture, the region's major industry. Yet they were not permitted to own land which was the main source of wealth. This restriction limited the "paroikoi" to being agricultural laborers which blocked their path to economic advancement. While in daily life "there was little apparent difference between the "paroikoi" and the full citizens, in times of political turmoil or economic adversity these "outsiders" were the first targets and

¹⁷³ Victor Tcherikover, Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews, trans. S. Applebaum (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1961), 27.

¹⁷⁴ Elliott, 68.

scapegoats of social suspicion, censure and animosity."¹⁷⁵

Under Roman Rule, the resources of Asia Minor was exploited which made life worse for the agricultural workers such as the "paroikoi." For Elliott, this meant: "Territorial confiscations, war indemnities, exorbitant tribute and taxation, slavery and the reduced economic level of the free laborers had been the brutal price which the provinces paid for the pax romana."¹⁷⁶

The marginality and inferiority of the "paroikoi" was further exacerbated when they became Christians since Christianity was viewed as a new and suspicious religious sect. It gave society another reason to discredit them for in addition to becoming social aliens, Christians now had a religious stigma attached to them. According to Elliott:

Living on the margin of political and social life, these "paroikoi" no doubt had seen in this new salvation movement new opportunity for social acceptance and improvement of their economic lot. Coming from the already suspect ranks of strangers, resident aliens and lower classes, however, these "Christ-lackeys" gained only further disdain for the exotic religion they embraced.¹⁷⁷

Thus the Jewish and Gentile "paroikoi" that Peter addressed were marginalized by their socio-economic status. For both groups, belonging to the Christian community lead

¹⁷⁵ Elliott, 69. His reference is to Hommel's discussion of "Metoikoi" in Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyclopädie der classischen, cols. 1451-54.

¹⁷⁶ Elliott, 71.

¹⁷⁷ Elliott, 83.

to further ridicule. Yet within the church, they had new divine status as God's chosen people.

Jewish Christianity

By expanding the boundaries of Judaism to include Gentiles such as in Antioch, Rome, and Asia Minor, Christianity was in direct conflict with the emerging rabbinic movement which was tightening those same boundaries in order to consolidate Judaism. The result was the exclusion of Jewish Christians from the synagogue and their ostracism from Jewish social and economic interactions. According to Phillip Alexander: "Rabbinic policy toward Christianity was aimed specifically at the Jewish Christians. It attempted successfully to keep them marginalized...."¹⁷⁸

Yet this separation was a gradual process that did not suddenly take place with the fall of Jerusalem. Dunn states that: "Like post-70 Judaism, post-70 Christianity was still a spectrum, and the two spectrums continued to overlap, precisely in the phenomenon of Jewish Christianity."¹⁷⁹ Yet because of the fall of Jerusalem, according to Dunn, "the Jewish-Christian wing of the spectrum ceased to have that symbolic power as representing the focus of continuity

¹⁷⁸ Phillip S. Alexander, "The Parting of the Ways from the Perspective of Rabbinic Judaism," in Jews and Christians: The Parting of the Ways, A.D. 70 to 135, ed. James D. G. Dunn (Tubingen: Mohr, 1992), 3.

¹⁷⁹ Dunn, 234.

between the older Judaism and the newer movement of Jesus Messiah."¹⁸⁰ Jewish Christians also could not identify themselves with Jewish nationalism which took on messianic overtones with Bar Kockhba. Their persecution by Jews must have finally confirmed that they must choose between Judaism and Christianity; they could no longer be both. According to Jerome: "But as long as they desire to be both Jews and Christians, they are neither Jews nor Christians."¹⁸¹

The success of the Gentile mission resulted in Jews being caught in the middle between the growing majority of Gentile Christians and being ostracized by non-Christian Jews. This dilemma for Jewish-Christians, according to Alexander, was that

the closer it moved to the Gentile Churches the less credible it would have become within the Jewish community; the more it emphasized its Jewishness the more difficult would have become its relations with the Gentile Churches, the more it would have been viewed with suspicion by the Gentiles....From the standpoint of the Gentile Churches it was expedient that the Jewish Church should fade away."¹⁸²

Yet Jewish Christianity later developed its separate identity in the continuing controversy with Gentile Christians over the role of the law that began with Paul. For Koester, the "real home for the development of Jewish

¹⁸⁰ Dunn, 239.

¹⁸¹ Hans Joachim Schoeps, Jewish Christianity: Factional Disputes in the Early Church, trans. Douglas R. A. Hare (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), 133.

¹⁸² Alexander, 24.

Christianity, however, must have been Syria; Jewish Christians could still be found in these regions in the early Byzantine period."¹⁸³

An "Orthodox" Jewish Christian Sect: The Nazoreans

One early sect, the Nazoreans, lived in Beroia, Syria as early as the second century and was in agreement with the emerging doctrinal orthodoxy. Their gospel was based upon Matthew which they translated into Aramaic and occasionally expanded it with new material. According to Koester: "No heretical alterations can be identified in the Gospel of the Nazoreans, which seems to have reproduced the whole text of Matthew, including the birth narrative."¹⁸⁴ Unlike other Jewish Christian groups, the Nazoreans affirmed the virgin birth although Epiphanius was unsure of this. According to Jerome, they accepted Paul's mission to the Gentiles and the Gentile church. The Jews cursed them thrice daily according to Epiphanius which may be seen as evidence of their orthodoxy.

Jewish Christian Opponents of Paul in the New Testament

Paul claimed that he received the gospel not "from a human source, nor was I taught it, but I received it through a revelation of Jesus Christ" (Gal. 1:12). Thus Paul expanded the circle of apostles to include himself based on

¹⁸³ Helmut Koester, History and Literature of Early Christianity, Introduction to the New Testament, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), 204-05.

¹⁸⁴ Koester, 202.

his claim that he was a witness to the risen Christ on the road to Damascus. According to Hans Schoeps: "Paul himself had confronted the primitive church with an entirely new conception of apostleship, a conception which was so constructed that he could use it to demonstrate his own legitimacy."¹⁸⁵ Because of this claim, Paul's apostleship was disputed in Galatia, Philippi, and Corinth.

Paul's opponents in Galatia may have been Jewish Christian missionaries who tried to compel the Galatians to be circumcised (Gal. 6:12-13). A possible reason why Paul carefully defined his relationship to Jerusalem through his meeting with James, Peter, and John (1:18-19; 2:7-11) was that these Judaizers may also have been at the Jerusalem Council. They reported to the Galatians that Paul was violating this agreement and that he should be preaching circumcision (5:2,11).

A second group of Jewish Christian missionaries who opposed Paul was in Philippi. As in Galatia, this opposition group preached circumcision and the law (3:3-6). However, in addition, they believed that moral perfection and righteousness could be attained through obedience to the law and following Jewish practices such as circumcision. This perfection resulted in the present enjoyment of all the eschatological promises (3:12) such as the resurrection and freedom from suffering (3:10-11). According to Koester:

¹⁸⁵ Schoeps, 49.

This perfectionistic doctrine of Law, however, was not simply moralistic, but constituted an integral part of an attitude that is best called "radicalized spiritualistic eschatology." The basic factor of this attitude was the belief that a complete fulfillment of the Law was possible--they had achieved it already and could boast about it....¹⁸⁶

Paul's opponents in Corinth were further removed from Galatia and Philippi. One of his letters within 2 Corinthians was written to refute those who challenged his apostolic authority. The identity of his opponents is problematic; Judaizers, gnostics, divine men, and pneumatics have been suggested. The majority of scholars see Paul's opponents as Judaizers yet who did not preach circumcision nor the law. Koester described them in this way:

However, the Jewish tradition and a theology of the new covenant played a significant role for them (2 Corinthians 3). Their message seemed to be that the Christian proclamation is the renewal of the true Jewish religion....Their aim was the concrete documentation of the renewal of the Jewish religion as it was worked by the spirit.¹⁸⁷

These Judaizers claimed to be Hebrews, Israelites, the seed of Abraham, and servants of Christ (2 Cor. 11:22-23). "Together they show that the claimants emphasize being Jewish to the fullest extent. This includes the ethnic and

¹⁸⁶ Helmut Koester, "The Purpose of the Polemic of a Pauline Fragment," New Testament Studies 8 (1962): 331.

¹⁸⁷ Koester, History and Literature, 127.

religious meaning of being Jewish."¹⁸⁸ Paul mockingly calls these Judaizers "super-apostles" (11:5), but considers himself as their equal and not inferior to them (12:11).

The Kerygmata Petrou

Some strands of Jewish Christianity continued this anti-Pauline position and would be later judged by the church fathers to be heretical. This can be seen in the Kerygmata Petrou in which the Peter confronts Simon. Because Simon is described by Peter in H 2.17.3 as "the first (who) came before me to the Gentiles," the identity of Simon has been interpreted by scholars to be Paul.¹⁸⁹ In their argument, Simon/Paul stated that:

The person to whose hearing something comes is by no means certain of what is said. For he must check whether he has not been deceived because, whatever befalls him, he is only a man. On the other hand, vision creates together with the appearance the certainty that one sees something divine. (H 17.13.2)

Peter in turn, argued that: "We know....that many idolaters, adulterers and other sinners have seen visions and had true dreams, and also that some have had visions that were wrought by demons" (H 17.16.2). The Kerygmata

¹⁸⁸ Jerry L. Sumney, Identifying Paul's Opponents: The Question of Method in 2 Corinthians, Journal for the Study of the New Testament, Supplement Series, 40 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 154.

¹⁸⁹ Yet in the Pseudo-Clementines H 2.17.3, there occurs an almost identical phrase: "where Simon belongs, who as first and before me went to the Gentiles. . . ." This clearly refers to Simon, a Samaritan who learned the magical arts in Egypt and who claimed to be the Messiah. Cf. H 2.22.3-6.

Petrou concludes by Peter accusing Simon/Paul of being a false apostle:

But can any one be made competent to teach through a vision? And if your opinion is, "That is possible," then why did our teacher spend a whole year with us who were awake? How can we believe you even if has appeared to you, if you desire the opposite of what you have learned? But if you were visited by him for the space of an hour and were instructed by him and thereby have become an apostle, then proclaim his words, expound what he has taught, be a friend to his apostles and do not contend with me, who am his confident; for you in hostility withstood me, who am a firm rock, the foundation stone of the church. If you were not an enemy, then you would not slander me and revile my preaching in order that I may not be believed when I proclaim what I have heard in my own person from the Lord, as if I were undoubtedly condemned and you were acknowledged. And if you call me condemned, then you accuse God, who revealed Christ to me, and disparage him who called me blessed on account of the revelation. But if you really desire to co-operate with the truth, then learn first from us what we have learned from him and, as a learner of the truth, become a fellow-worker with us. (H 17.19.1-7)

Thus the Kerygmata Petrou accused Simon/Paul of being incompetent, hostile to Peter, an enemy who slanders him, and thus discredits God who revealed Christ to him. This illustrates why for some Jewish Christians, Paul was remembered as the arch-enemy of Peter and as a false apostle who contradicted Jesus' teachings. These attacks on Paul widened the breach between Jewish and Gentile Christianity. and resulted in the apostolic fathers viewing Jewish Christianity as a heretical sect.

The Ebionites

Another Jewish Christian heretical sect who was anti-

Pauline was the Ebionites. According to Epiphanius, the Ebionites accused that Paul is Greek, the child of Greek parents from Tarsus. He went to Jerusalem and

desired to marry the daughter of a priest and therefore became a proselyte and that he had himself circumcised and that, since he could not receive such a girl as his wife, he became angry and wrote against circumcision, the sabbath and the legislation.¹⁹⁰

The Ebionites fled Jerusalem for Pella due to persecution and later moved to Asia, Rome and Cyprus according to Epiphanius. Those whom Irenaeus knew were probably in Rome. "Epiphanius starts from the mistaken assumption that everything Jewish-Christian must be called Ebionite and must have originated in the same group. This mistake is made by all orthodox members of the Church."¹⁹¹

According to Klijn and Reinink, Irenaeus' observations about the Ebionites are the most reliable. Irenaeus' Adv. Haer. 1.26.2 described the Ebionites as living according to the law:

They use the Gospel according to Matthew only and repudiate the apostle Paul, saying that he was an apostate from the Law. As to the prophetic writings, they do their best to expound them diligently; they practice circumcision, persevere

¹⁹⁰ Epiphanius, Panarion 30.16.9 in A. F. J. Klijn and G. J. Reinink, Patristic Evidence for Jewish-Christian Sects, Supplements to Novum Testamentum, vol. 36 (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 185.

¹⁹¹ Klijn and Reinink, 43.

in the customs which are according to the Law and practice a Jewish way of life, even adoring Jerusalem as if it were the house of God.¹⁹²

Likewise, Hippolytus stated: "They live conformably to Jewish customs saying that they are justified according to the Law, and saying that Jesus was justified by practicing the Law."¹⁹³ Circumcision was very important to the Ebionites according to Epiphanius:

Next they are proud of having circumcision and therefore they honour it as being the seal and the distinguishing mark of the patriarchs and the righteous ones who lived according to the Law and they believe in this way that they become equal to them.¹⁹⁴

Yet the Ebionites did not believe in offering sacrifices. The Gospel of the Ebionites altered Matt. 5:17 to read: "I have come to annul sacrifice, and if ye cease not from sacrificing, the wrath of God will not cease from you."¹⁹⁵ Epiphanius accused the Ebionites that their version of Matthew "is not complete but falsified and distorted."¹⁹⁶

¹⁹² Klijn and Reinink, 105.

¹⁹³ Refutatio omn. haer. 7.34.1 in Klijn and Reinink, 113.

¹⁹⁴ Epiphanius, Panarion 30.26.1 in Klijn and Reinink, 191.

¹⁹⁵ Epiphanius, Haer. 30.16, 4f. in Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher, eds., New Testament Apocrypha, vol. 1, Gospels and Related Writings, trans. R. McL. Wilson (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963), 158.

¹⁹⁶ Epiphanius, Panarion 30.13.2 in Klijn and Reinink, 179.

Irenaeus described the Ebionites' view of Christ who was "begotten by Joseph"¹⁹⁷ and so denied that Jesus was conceived by the Holy Spirit. Jesus had a natural birth and was not "the union of God and man."¹⁹⁸ Irenaeus asked: "He will judge also the Ebionites: how can they be saved unless it was God who wrought out their salvation upon earth? Or how shall a man pass into God, unless God has passed into man?"¹⁹⁹ Eusebius held a similar view as Irenaeus: "But the heresy of the Ebionites, as it is called consists of those who say that Christ was the son of Joseph and Mary, considering him a mere man and insisting strongly on keeping the Law in a Jewish manner...."²⁰⁰

Apart from their messianic beliefs, it would be difficult to distinguish the Ebionite's way of life from Jews. Yet they were hated by both Jews and Christians, according to Schoeps, because of their "combination of Mosaic law and faith in Christ--an abbreviated law and an unsoteriological faith in Christ."²⁰¹ They were accused of heresy by both sides. The Jewish ban of the minim in the synagogues may have reference to the Ebionites. From the

¹⁹⁷ Adv. Haer. 3.21.1 in Klijn and Reinink, 107.

¹⁹⁸ Adv. Haer. 5.1.3 in Klijn and Reinink, 107.

¹⁹⁹ Irenaeus, Adv. haer. 4.33.4 in Klijn and Reinink, 107.

²⁰⁰ Eusebius, Demonstratio evangelica, 5.17 in Klijn and Reinink, 147.

²⁰¹ Schoeps, 132.

Christian side, the Ebionites were declared enemies of orthodoxy during the time between Justin and Irenaeus. Jesus was viewed as the son of Joseph and Mary and his humanity was emphasized to the extent that "everyone who fulfilled the Law could also be called Christ."²⁰²

The Nazoraeans and the Ebionites are illustrative of the choices that faced Jewish Christians in the diaspora. They could either become part of the mainstream Gentile church or become a separate sect that was later judged to be heretical by the church fathers. In both cases, their attempt to maintain their Jewish customs as Christians resulted in their becoming a religious minority within a minority ethnic group in the later Roman Empire.

Conclusion

Jewish Christians in Antioch, Rome, and Asia Minor played a vital role in the early church. In becoming a religious minority within an racial minority, they had to work out their new socio-religious identity within a new community, the church. By doing so, they were marginalized between a Judaism that was consolidating itself and a rapidly growing Gentile Christian church. The result was that Jewish Christianity, centered in Syria, became known to the church fathers as a heresy. The Jewish heritage of Christianity became marginalized, suspect, and then forgotten by the orthodox church.

²⁰² Klijn and Reinink, 22.

It is these same issues of identity, community, and marginality that face racial minorities in the history of the Protestant church such as Chinese Americans. Their social experience of being a double minority can be analogous to the Jewish Christian experience in the diaspora.

CHAPTER 6

A Suggested New Testament Curriculum

The New Testament is a rich multicultural text that can be relevant to our diverse society. This ancient sacred text can yield a new perspective when it is interpreted from a different vantage point; from the perspective of people of color. The curricular challenge is to demonstrate that analogies do exist between first-century Jewish Christians in the diaspora with minority groups in the United States such as Chinese Americans. These analogies can yield common social experiences that faced both groups: marginality, identity, and community. It is these themes that can provide a foundation for a multicultural New Testament curriculum.

Curricular Analogies

Analogies between their first-century experience and Chinese Americans is possible because both groups lived as minorities in countries due to their worldwide diaspora. Those Jews who lived in Antioch, Rome, and Asia Minor were subject to similar social pressures as the early Chinese immigrants in San Francisco. When first-century Jews and twentieth-century Chinese became Christians, they faced persecution from their own ethnic group. They were accused of leaving the cultural traditions of their heritage. In addition, Jewish Christians and Chinese Christians encountered further persecution from Gentile Christians and

white Christians respectively.

Yet this persecution was based upon different factors: socio-religious prejudice of the Jews by Greco-Romans and racial prejudice of the Chinese by Euro-Americans. These differences are important since one can change religions, but not one's physical features. Thus Jews could assimilate if they gave up their religious customs, while Chinese immigrants could not efface their appearance.

While different, this discrimination resulted in similar social dynamics that each ethnic group had to deal with: the questions of marginality, identity, and community for a religious minority within an ethnic minority. It is through these three dynamics that Chinese American Christians can see their pilgrimage of faith reflected in the story of their spiritual ancestors in the first-century.

Jewish Christians in Antioch, Rome, and Asia Minor struggled to maintain their ethnic culture while embracing their new faith. This lead some of them to oppose the Apostle Paul whose gospel undermined the importance of their heritage; the Mosaic law and circumcision. Jewish Christians may have been Paul's opponents in Galatia, Antioch, and Corinth. From their perspective, Paul was attacking their Jewish customs and their obedience to the Torah.

When Paul's message was embraced by Gentiles, they became the new dominant group in the early church. The

Jewish influence on Christianity waned as the number of Jewish Christians decreased. The result was the marginalization of Jewish Christianity because their adherence to the law became suspect. This suspicion later turned into heresy as anti-Jewish sentiment can be seen in the church fathers such as Irenaeus, Chrysostom, and Epiphanius.

This Jewish Christian perspective can enrich the study of the New Testament by Chinese American Christians along with other people of color. The Jewish diaspora reflects the Chinese diaspora because of the opportunities and discrimination each group experienced. In addition, both Jews and Chinese encountered marginalization and prejudice by the dominant group within the mainstream church.

Because of their similarities, a study of Jewish Christians in the diaspora has the potential to become a hermeutical bridge between the New Testament world and contemporary society. Understanding the analogies between these two ethnic groups can enrich the educational opportunities for teaching the New Testament.

Two educational assumptions underlie this curriculum. The first one is that crossing cultures is important even if these cultures are in the nineteenth-century and the first-century. Cross-cultural experiences are increasing more important in our multicultural society. The second assumption is that cultural comparisons can yield insights

for action and reflection. Understanding our Christian heritage from the perspective of Jewish and Chinese immigrants can become a hermeneutical bridge. The issues that they faced, marginality, identity, and community, reflect contemporary issues that can make the New Testament text more accessible and relevant to people of color today.

The New Testament can also reveal a culture that was not tainted with the modern heresy of Euro-American racism. Because of the legacy of colonial racism, it is impossible for Westerners to imagine a society that did not judge a person by the color of their skin. Racism has been so ingrained in us that we cannot envision a New Testament world that did not have lighter-skinned people on top of society and darker-skinned people on the bottom.

Understanding these analogies between the ancient Jewish Christians and modern Chinese American Christians requires a knowledge about their history. To gain this historical knowledge, short lectures would be provided by the teacher to process this information. A series of questions would then provide the context for the discussion.

A curriculum of eight sessions which develops these Jewish and Chinese analogies is suggested. They would be organized as follows:

1. The Jewish and Chinese diaspora.
2. Religious prejudice of the ancient world vs. modern racism.

3. The problem of Jewish and Chinese American identity as minorities.
4. Antioch, Rome, Asia Minor and San Francisco.
5. Four types of Jewish Christianity: Continuity or discontinuity with their Jewish heritage?
6. Ethnic Christian Community: Jewish and Chinese America.
7. Christian Marginality
8. The fate of Jewish Christianity vs. the future of Chinese American Christianity.

Future Directions

Perhaps Jewish Christians were treated better than the early Chinese immigrants in San Francisco. They were not subjected to racism (as we know it today) and Jews were granted religious tolerance by the Roman government.

On the other hand, the Chinese were viewed as aliens, a pagan race and a threat to American culture in the latter half of the nineteenth-century. Yet the fortunes of Chinese Americans improved markedly when immigrants could finally become naturalized citizens in 1952 and when a liberalized immigration policy was passed in 1965.

Yet there are still barriers to equal opportunities for Chinese Americans and other racial minorities because of institutionalized racism. This would include the "glass ceiling" and the myth that Asian Americans are "model minorities" that other groups should emulate.

As this dissertation reveals, this pattern of racial discrimination reveals the dark underside of history,

contradicting the American ideal of individual freedom. Understanding the racial history of the United States is foundational to multi-racial religious education because this racial trajectory, beginning in the colonial period, still oppresses people of color today. Yet the New Testament world can reveal a society that was not infected with modern day racism. This dissertation can help religious educators see the possibilities of other multicultural interpretations of the New Testament so that further analogies can be developed. Through a socio-historical understanding of race, conscientizacao can result which can transform our reading of the Bible. This socio-religious transformation can help Christians such as Chinese Americans and other racial minorities see their story reflected in the biblical Story.

Session 1

The Jewish and Chinese Diaspora

- I. Jewish diaspora around the Mediterranean over the centuries.
 - A. Hellenized Jews outnumbered those living in Palestine: four to six million.
 - B. Large population in major cities.
 - C. Economic opportunities.
 - D. Socio-economic diversity.
- II. Chinese diaspora in second half of nineteenth century: two million.
 - A. Southeast Asia, Philippines, the West Indies, Australia, Hawaii, California.
 - B. Internal causes: peasant revolts against Qing dynasty, natural disasters, overpopulation, famine.
 - C. External causes: Opium War (1839-42), discovery of gold in Australia and California.
 - D. Canton: center for emigration.
 - E. Cheap trans-Pacific steerage fares.
- III. Resident aliens of 1 Peter in 1:1.
 - A. Mixed community: Jews as minority.
 - B. "Paroikoi" lacking native roots.
 - 1. barred from full citizenship.
 - 2. exploited and suspected.
 - 3. regarded as foreign-born despite even though may have been born there and grew up there.
 - 4. marginalized because second-class status.
 - 5. working-class: mostly in agriculture.
 - 6. barred from owning land: main source of wealth

7. scapegoats in times of crisis.

C. Inferior status exacerbated when became Christians.

Discussion questions

1. How were the ancient Jews and the 19th century Chinese similar? Dissimilar?
2. Under what circumstances would you consider emigrating to another country?
3. What do you know of your family's movement from one country or region to another? Have they told you their story? If not, would you be willing to ask them?
4. Close your eyes. Imagine what conditions your parents, grandparents, great-grandparents faced when they emigrated to America. Was this a land of opportunity for them?
5. Before the Israelites entered the Promised Land, they were to confess before God and a priest that: "A wandering Aramean was my ancestor; he went down into Egypt and lived there as an alien, few in number...." (Deut. 26:5)
Who was this Israelite ancestor? Why do you think God commanded the Israelites to make this confession? How can you now identify with them?
6. 1 Peter was addressed to "resident aliens" in Asia Minor (1:1). While many of his readers were Gentile, some were Jewish. Are Chinese Americans "resident aliens" even though they may lived in the United States for several generations? Why or why not?

Session 2

Religious Prejudice vs. Racial Prejudice

- I. Africans in the ancient world.
 - A. Racism as anachronistic: no color hierarchy.
 - B. Blacks as warriors, Ethiopians as blameless.
 - C. No laws or social pressure against interracial unions or miscegenation.
 - D. Physical and cultural assimilation.
 - E. Ethiopians in the early church.
 - 1. The eunuch Phillip baptized (Acts 8:26-40).
 - 2. A symbol of the church's worldwide mission.
 - 3. Blackness as inconsequential.
- II. Jews in the diaspora
 - A. Reducing the dissonance between Jewish and Hellenistic culture.
 - 1. Presented Judaism as a philosophy and universal religion acceptable to Greco-Romans.
 - 2. Playing down their peculiar customs and rituals.
 - B. Option to assimilate or lapse into paganism.
 - 1. No obvious physical differences.
 - 2. Romans not color prejudiced.
- III. Anti-Chinese racism.
 - A. America: a racially exclusive democracy.
 - 1. 1790 Naturalization Law: naturalized citizenship excluded non-whites.
 - 2. not repealed until 1952.
 - 3. changing definitions of race: Jews, Irish, southern Europeans not "white."

4. assimilation vs. structural racial barriers.
- B. Negative stereotypes of Chinese before the first immigrant arrived in America.
 1. by the accounts of traders, diplomats, and missionaries in China.
 2. mass media coverage of events in China: the Opium War, Taiping Rebellion, etc.
- C. Exclusion from the labor movement.
 1. Chinese in unskilled jobs as "coolie" labor.
 2. Anti-coolie clubs organized.
 3. Chinese workers driven out of cigar and shoe industries in San Francisco.
 4. Allowed to own laundries although harassed by anti-Chinese laws.
- D. Anti-Chinese politics.
 1. The Democratic and Republican party's need for the labor vote.
 2. The motto of the Workingmen's Party under Denis Kearney: "The Chinese must go."
- E. Christian racism against the Chinese.
 1. Anti-Chinese lecture by a prominent Jesuit priest: John Bouchard.
 - a. As pagan, immoral, incapable of rising to Christianity.
 - b. As inferior race who cheapened white labor.
 2. Anti-Chinese talks around the country for a few months by an unemployed Congregational minister.
 3. An Episcopalian bishop compared the Chinese to blacks: a deep gulf separated both groups from Anglo-Saxons.
- F. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 by Congress.
 1. The only group to be barred from immigrating.

2. Anti-Chinese sentiment became national in scope:
not just limited to California.

Discussion questions

1. Divide into three groups. Each group will represent one of the following: Africans in the ancient world, the Jewish diaspora, and the Chinese in America. Using the background material in the handout, each group will present their findings about the prejudice that their particular group faced.
2. After these three presentations, the group can discuss the following: How were the dynamics of religious and racial prejudice similar and different?
3. Could the Jews or the Chinese escape from this prejudice? Why? Why not?
4. What factors do you think contributed to prejudice in the ancient world, drawing from everything you know about that world? What do you think are the major causes of prejudice today?
5. Do you think that people's prejudices changed over the centuries? Why or why not?

Session 3

Jewish and Chinese American Identity as Minorities.

I. Jewish identity in the Diaspora.

- A. Common connection to Palestine and to Judaism.
- B. Distinctive Jewish practices: food laws, circumcision, and Sabbath observance
- C. Could lose their religious identity if one lapsed into paganism as there was no physical differences.
- D. Diaspora Judaism took on different forms.
 - 1. No temple, priests, nor sacrifices.
 - 2. Deeper devotion to the Septuagint.
- E. Boundary lines permeable: ambiguity of proselytes, apostates, mixed marriages.
 - 1. Timothy of Lystra in Acts 16:1 was a product of a mixed marriage and not circumcised.
 - 2. How to define boundary-crossers: Jewish groups and the Roman government had different answers.
- F. The Jewish poll tax after the Temple's destruction.
 - 1. The Romans assumed all Jews practiced Judaism.
 - 2. Later exemption for those who denied Judaism.
 - 3. Gentile proselytes paid the tax.
 - 4. Jewish identity now based on adherence to Jewish religion, not one's ethnic origin.

II. Chinese identity as immigrants to America.

- A. Clear boundary lines based upon physical appearance.
- B. Sojourner mentality.
 - 1. To return to their home country after making enough money.
 - 2. Similar to European immigrants.

C. Family or clan association based on common surname.

D. District or speech association based upon the same village and the same dialect.

1. Sam Yup Association.

2. Sze Yup Association.

3. Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association:
(Chinese Six Companies)

E. Secret societies: political, protest, criminal or benevolent in character.

F. Internal and external conflict between associations.

Discussion questions.

1. Why do you think the questions of identity became more important to Jews and to Chinese emigrants in their new countries?

2. What assimilation pressures did each group face? How do you think such pressures would have affected the people?

3. Do you think that the emigrant's connection to their ethnic group would become more or less important in situations such as the Jewish diaspora and Chinese immigration to the U.S.?

4. What internal or external conflict did the Jews and Chinese encounter? Draw from what you know and seek to identify with their situation in answering this question.

Session 4

Antioch, Rome, Asia Minor, and San Francisco

- I. Antioch: administrative and commercial center.
 - A. Jews among its original settlers so a large minority (between 22,000 to 45,000).
 - B. Allowed to practice their customs although did not have full citizenship.
 - C. Separate Jewish political organization (politema).
 - D. Anti-Jewish riots in 39-40 C.E.
 - 1. Possibly due to Claudius' edict re-establishing Jewish rights.
 - 2. Also due to Jewish desire as a group to obtain Greek citizenship.
 - E. Mob violence during Jewish revolt in 66-73 C.E.
 - F. Antiochus: the climax of anti-Jewish violence.
 - 1. Accused the Jews of planning to burn down the Antioch.
 - 2. Prevented Jews from observing the sabbath.
 - 3. Three years later, a major fire occurred.
 - 4. The Jews were found innocent of arson.
 - G. Attempt to expel Jews in 71 C.E. failed when Titus reaffirmed Jewish privileges.
- II. Rome.
 - A. Active and influential Jewish community.
 - 1. Estimates between 20,000 to 60,000.
 - 2. Many Jews were captives of war brought to Rome and were manumitted.
 - B. Eleven different and self-governing synagogues.
 - C. Lobbying for Jewish causes in other countries.

1. The case of Flaccus, governor of Asia Minor, accused by Jews of confiscating gold sent to Jerusalem to support the Temple.
2. Defended by Cicero, Flaccus was acquitted.
- D. First mention of Roman Jews: their expulsion because they were foreigners.
- E. Roman disdain for Jewish customs: Tacitus and Cicero.

III. Asia Minor.

- A. Estimated population of 250,000 Jews concentrated in large cities.
- B. Large synagogues in some cities.
- C. Jewish rights.
 1. A politeuma: a quasi-autonomous civic organization with administrative power.
 2. To worship and observe the Sabbath.
 3. To collect the Temple tax and to send it to Jerusalem.
- D. These rights attacked by the Greeks, but defended by Roman government.
- E. Jewish attempts to gain Greek citizenship failed.
 1. Greeks resisted because Jews did not participate in their worship.
 2. Jews unwilling to take on civic responsibilities.

IV. San Francisco: the center of the Chinese community.

- A. Port of entry for gold miners and railroad workers.
- B. Earliest and largest Chinatown.
- C. 12,022 Chinese in 1870: almost one-fourth of the state's population.
- D. Almost one-half of the labor force in city's key industries: boots/shoes, woolens, cigars/tobacco, and sewing.

- E. Concentrated in manufacturing sections that paid lower wages.
- F. Forced out of these industries by white labor.
- G. Allowed to work in laundries where not considered an economic threat.

Discussion questions

1. What common situations faced the Chinese in San Francisco with those that the Jews encountered in Antioch, Rome, and Asia Minor?
2. What were the significant differences?
3. What advantages did the Jews or the Chinese have?
4. If you had your choice, what city would you have liked to immigrate to? Why?

Session 5

Four Types of Jewish Christianity:
Continuity or Discontinuity with Their Jewish Heritage?

- I. Full observance of the Torah including circumcision.
 - A. Caused trouble in Paul's churches in Galatia and Philippi.
 - B. Paul described them as "false brothers" in Gal. 2:4.
- II. Keeping some Jewish observances such as the kosher food laws: a mediating position.
 - A. Did not require circumcision for Gentile converts.
 - B. The position of James and Peter.
 - C. Men from James caused trouble in Antioch in pressuring Peter and Barnabas to keep the food laws (Gal. 2:12).
 - D. Paul rebuked Peter for this (Gal. 2:14).
 - E. Jerusalem Council advocated James position in having Gentile converts observe kosher laws (Acts 15:23-29).
- III. Circumcision or food laws not required for Gentiles: Paul's position (1 Cor. 8).
 - A. Gentile believers to keep Jewish morals and the Ten Commandments.
 - B. Paul observed Jewish feasts and went to the Temple (Acts 20:6,16 and 21:26).
- IV. No significance for the Jewish cult and feasts.
 - A. Beyond Paul: Hellenized diaspora Jews who had broken with Judaism in a radical way.
 - B. Stephen's position: God does not dwell in the Temple (Acts 7:48).
 - C. Jesus replacing the priesthood and sacrifices: Hebrews.

Discussion questions

1. If you were raised as a Jew and became a Christian, would you feel threatened by someone like Paul? Why or why not?
2. Would you tolerate Gentile Christians who did not follow the Torah? Why? Why not? What do you think would be the biggest issues or concerns you would have about Gentile Christians?
3. If Paul had a son, would he baptize him?

Session 6

Ethnic Christian Community: Jewish and Chinese American

- I. Antioch: one of the earliest churches.
 - A. Christian refugees came here from Jerusalem.
 - 1. After the persecution following Stephen's martyrdom.
 - 2. Nicolaus of Antioch (Acts 6:5) chosen as deacon.
 - B. Jewish-Christian missionaries to Gentiles.
 - 1. No great hostility between Jews and Gentiles.
 - 2. The cosmopolitan nature of Antioch.
 - 3. No fanatical resistance to their preaching.
 - C. The Jerusalem church sent Barnabas to Antioch to check on their progress (Acts 11:22f).
 - 1. Barnabas brought Paul to Antioch for a year.
 - 2. Disciples first called Christians in Antioch as they were becoming distinct from Jews. (Acts 11:26)
 - D. Paul and Peter's dispute over eating with Gentiles (Gal. 2:11-14).
 - 1. Due to instigation of outsiders from Jerusalem such as James.
 - 2. Paul left Antioch as the apparent loser.
 - E. Peter dominant in Antioch.
 - 1. Tradition that he was the first bishop.
 - 2. As the moderate center between Paul and James.
 - F. Matthew may have written his gospel in Antioch.
 - 1. His Jewish tone and mode of argumentation.
 - 2. Jesus came to fulfill the law and the prophets. (Matt. 5:17)

G. Waning Jewish influence in the church.

1. The martyrdom of James and the exile of the Jerusalem church.
2. The success of the circumcision-free mission to the Gentiles which began at Antioch.

II. The church at Rome.

- A. As in Antioch, did not begin with Paul.
- B. Unknown origins: possibly by Roman Jews and proselytes (Acts 2:10) who witnessed Pentecost.
- C. The tradition of Paul and Peter's martyrdom here.
- D. The names in Rom. 16 indicates mostly Gentiles, but also several important Jews.
 1. The question if this chapter was an original part of Paul's letter.
 2. Possibly three Jewish Christian immigrants to Rome from the east.
- E. Continuing influence of Jewish Christianity in Rome.
 1. May have had continuous contact with Jerusalem church.
 2. May have remained faithful to Jewish legal and cultic heritage.
 3. Without insisting on circumcision for Gentiles.
- F. Paul's positive view of the Torah.
 1. It is holy, spiritual, and good (7:12,14,16).
 2. Jews have the advantages of circumcision and the words of God (3:1-2).
 3. Gentile Christians grafted on to Israel (11:24).
 4. Yet the primacy of what God has done in Christ.

III. Asia Minor.

- A. Jewish pilgrims from Cappadocia and Pontus returning from Pentecost may have been the first witnesses.

- B. Rapid spread of Christianity despite the powerful influence of Judaism.
- C. Jewish-Christianity in 1 Peter.
 - 1. Without requiring circumcision or Sabbath observance.
 - 2. Cultic language used.
 - a. Christ's precious blood (1:18-19)
 - b. Holy priesthood, spiritual sacrifices (2:5).
 - c. A chosen race, royal priesthood, holy nation (2:9).
- D. 1 Peter addressed to Jewish and Gentile resident aliens (1:1 paroikoi).
 - 1. Marginal people who experienced suffering rather than security because of their new religion.
 - 2. The promise of their new unique identity because of their election by God (2:4-10).
 - 3. New status, self-esteem, honor and prestige, within the church denied to them by society.

IV. Chinese Christian community:

- A. Tiny percentage of Chinese immigrants converted by white missionaries.
 - 1. About 6,500 baptized out of 326,000 between 1850 and 1910.
 - 2. Denominational churches in Chinatown a small but permanent presence.
- B. Jewish-Christian missionaries to the Gentiles vs. white missionaries to the Chinese.
- C. The Youxue Zhengdaohui.
 - 1. Established in 1871 in San Francisco.
 - 2. Within white denominational mission structures although inter-denominational at first.
 - 3. Allowed more Chinese initiative, leadership and decision-making.

4. Strict membership rules: Bible study, good works, loving each other, avoiding temptation.
 - a. Three warnings before expulsion.
 - b. Readmittance only through repentance and public posting of one's name for three months.
5. Paralleled the church except for the sacraments.
6. Important function was to recruit, instruct, and screen persons for baptism and church membership (after a six month probation).
7. Provided needed social life especially if convert was ostracized from family and friends.
8. Assisted in funeral costs and arrangements.
9. Provided exit permits to China that were normally given by the Chinese Six Companies.

Discussion questions

1. What were the advantages of a Christian community for Jewish and Chinese minorities in their particular time and place?
2. Can you imagine the difficulties for Jewish-Christians in Antioch and Rome in their transition from being majorities in the church to minorities? Imagine yourself in their shoes. How would you describe your situation?
3. If you were a Jewish-Christian who appreciated your heritage, would Paul and his gospel be threatening to you?
4. Why do you think there were so few Chinese Christians in San Francisco?
5. What advantages did the Youxue Zhengdaohui provide?

Session 7

Christian Marginality

I. Antioch

A. The Matthean community: possibly in Antioch.

1. Rupture with the synagogue:
 - a. "Their synagogues" (Matt. 4:23, 9:35, 10:17, 12:9, 13:54).
 - b. Warning to flee to another city because of persecution (10:23).
2. Questioning symbols of Jewishness: the Temple, food laws, circumcision, and the Sabbath.
3. Disrespect for Jewish ethnic solidarity: radical discontinuity with its heritage.
4. Judaism consolidating so less tolerant of fringe groups such as the Jesus sect.
5. Identity crisis: still considered themselves as Jews but not by Jewish leaders.
6. Jewish hostility more intense in diaspora..
 - a. Because of Gentile problem: circumcision not required.
 - b. Traditional Jewish boundary line ignored.
7. Matthew's synthesis: to bridge the gap between Jewish past with Gentile future.

B. Ignatius: bishop of Antioch in early second century.

1. Negative view towards the church's Jewish heritage.
2. "It is monstrous to talk Jesus Christ and to live like a Jew. For Christianity did not believe in Judaism." (Letter to the Magnesians 10:3)

C. Chrysostom's eight sermons against Judaizing Christians (fourth-century).

1. Their practice of circumcision.
2. Synagogue worship still attractive.
 - a. Oaths taken there more sacred.
 - b. The rabbis curative powers in healing.
3. Participation in Jewish feasts.
4. Anti-Jewish polemic.
 - a. To hate the synagogue because the Jews mistreat Christians.
 - b. The synagogue as a brothel and a den of robbers where wild beasts live.

II. Rome

- A. The possibility that Jewish-Christians may have disrupted the Roman Jewish community.
 1. Suetonius: "Since they constantly made disturbances at the instigation of Chrestus, he expelled them from Rome." (Claudius 25.4)
 2. Acts: 18:2: "Claudius had issued an edict that all Jews should leave Rome."
 3. The meaning of Chrestus: Christ or Jewish agitator by that name?
 4. The expulsion for all Jews, Jewish-Christians, or only those who rebelled.
- B. If Jewish-Christians expelled, and later returned to Rome, found a church now largely Gentile.
 1. They now became the new minority.
 2. Paul's letter to welcome them in the church.
- C. They were not welcome in Roman synagogues.
- D. Nero blamed Christians for the great fire in 64 C.E.
 1. Not the Jews since Nero maintained peaceful relations with them.
 2. Christians ("loathed for their vices": Tacitus) singled out for torture.

3. Despite their guilt in Roman eyes, they took pity on Christians because of Nero's cruelty.

III. Asia Minor: The resident aliens.

- A. Peter's audience addressed as ("paroikoi" 1:1).
 1. Foreigners who lack native roots.
 2. Also those who were born in the city and had grown up there.
 3. Considered higher than transient foreigners, but could not become full citizens.
- B. Marginalized, suspected, and resented by citizens.
- C. Excluded from political privileges: could not vote or hold office.
- D. Could not own land although had to pay taxes.
- E. Working class: most involved as agriculture laborers which was the region's main industry.
- F. Little difference in daily life between citizens and resident aliens.
 1. In time of crisis, these outsiders became the first target of social suspicion.
- G. Their marginality and inferiority exacerbated when converted to Christianity, a suspicious sect.

IV. San Francisco: Chinese Christian marginality.

- A. Church discrimination against Chinese Christians.
 1. Some refused to grant them membership and objected to their presence.
 2. Third Congregational Church: majority wanted Chinese converts to be baptized, but a minority wanted a probation period to examine them.
- B. Denominational mission agencies directly involved with the Chinese because prejudice in local churches prevented their support for Chinese mission work.
 1. Chinese workers under white superintendent.

2. Unwilling to allow more Chinese control of their missions.
3. Soo Hoo Nam Art angrily resigned from the Presbyterian mission due to conflict with the superintendent over a chapel sign.

C. Missionary resistance to the Youxue Zhengdaohui.

1. Some considered it a mutual aid society and under the control of non-Christians.
2. Because of some irregularities, the Presbyterian mission severed its ties to its Zhengdaohui although they were later re-established.

D. White racism exacerbated by the 1882 Exclusion Act.

1. Chinese missions harassed by rocks and refuse.
2. Street preaching by missionaries and Chinese disrupted.
3. One Chinese Baptist minister assassinated possibly because of his evangelistic activities.
4. Anti-Chinese ministers like Isaac Kalloch who became mayor of San Francisco.

E. Christianity vs. Chinese culture.

1. Shunned by their relatives and friends for embracing a foreign religion: the very people the convert was depending upon to immigrate to America.
2. Chinese Six Companies against Christianity.
3. Converts accused of rejecting Confucius and not respecting ancestors.
4. The challenge to be a Christian without being disloyal to Chinese culture: filial piety and the fifth commandment.
5. The Chinese World newspaper supporting Confucianism against Christianity vs. the Chung Sai Yat Po which supported Christian values.

Discussion questions

1. What barriers did Jews and Chinese face when they became Christians? Did they have to choose between Christ and their heritage?
2. How were Chinese American Christians marginalized like Jewish Christians?
3. How were both groups caught in the middle between the prejudices of general society and prejudice within the church?

Session 8

The Fate of Jewish Christianity and the Future of Chinese American Christianity

- I. The separation between Jewish Christianity and Judaism.
 - A. The spectrum of post-70 C.E. Judaism and Christianity overlapped in Jewish Christianity.
 - B. The boundaries of Judaism tightening as a result of the emerging rabbinic movement.
 - 1. Jewish Christians no longer welcomed in the synagogue.
 - 2. Ostracized and marginalized from Jewish social and economic interactions.
 - C. Diaspora Jewish Christians could not identify with Jewish nationalism such as with Bar Kockhba.
 - D. Could not be both Jews and Christians.
- II. The separation between Jewish Christians and the mainstream Gentile church.
 - A. Continuing controversy over the role of the law.
 - B. Disputed Paul's claim to apostleship (Gal. 1:12).
 - 1. Paul's new concept of apostleship: a witness to the risen Christ on the road to Damascus.
 - C. Jewish Christians may have been Paul's opponents.
 - 1. In Galatia where they preached circumcision (Gal. 6:12-13).
 - 2. In Philippi where they believed that perfect righteousness can be attained through obedience to the law (Phil. 3:3-6) which resulted in eschatological blessings.
 - 3. In Corinth where they did not preach the law nor circumcision, but the renewal of Judaism by the Spirit.
 - a. They claimed to be Jewish to the fullest extent and servants of Christ (2 Cor. 11:22-23).

- b. Paul considered himself equal (12:11) to these "super-apostles" (11:5).

D. Jewish Christians as anti-Pauline: Kerygmata Petrou.

- 1. Paul did not spend time with Jesus like Peter and hear his words.
- 2. Paul as the enemy of Peter because he is a false apostle with false visions.

E. The Nazoreans: orthodox Jewish-Christian sect.

- 1. Affirmed the virgin birth.
- 2. Accepted Paul's mission to the Gentiles.
- 3. The Jews cursed them thrice daily.
- 4. Lived in Syria as early as second century.

F. Ebionites: judged as heretical by church fathers.

- 1. Fled Jerusalem to Asia, Rome, and Cyprus.
- 2. Lived according to the law (Irenaeus).
- 3. Valued circumcision highly (Epiphanius).
- 4. Used Matthew's gospel and repudiated Paul.
- 5. Believed that Jesus had a natural birth.
- 6. Hated by Jews and Christians because of their belief in the Mosaic law and faith in Christ.

Discussion questions

- 1. Were Jewish Christians judged as "heretical" by Gentile Christians because their Jewish heritage such as the law and circumcision was not so highly valued? Why do you answer in this way?
- 2. If you were a diaspora Jewish Christian, would you risk being judged "heretical," or would you be willing to give up your cultural and religious heritage to be "orthodox?" Why do you answer the way you do? What does this tell you about yourself and about the life of Jewish Christians in the first-century C.E.?

3. Chinese American Christians received Christianity through white missionaries. Did this transmission of the gospel through Euro-American culture negate Chinese heritage? How or how not?
4. Can Christianity be integrated with Confucian teachings?
5. What redemptive elements are in each group's history?
6. What lessons can be learned from Jewish Christianity and the view of Jewish Christians toward Paul?

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